

THE LEHIGH REVIEW



A Student Journal of the Arts and Sciences

VOLUME THIRTEEN

SPRING—FALL 2005



LEHIGH REVIEW

A Student Journal
of the Arts and Sciences

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Spring - Fall 2005

DWS CD
Inside

Each year, Lehigh University publishes the *Lehigh Review*, a student journal of the arts and sciences. Each issue contains some of the best writing by Lehigh students.

Any scholarly articles, academic essays, or book reviews may be submitted. The *Review* does not ordinarily accept fiction or poetry.

All submissions should reflect the breadth and depth of the liberal arts. We are especially interested in submissions that draw from the content or methodology of more than one discipline. The *Review* expects students to submit well-researched and well-written work that exceeds a mere synthesis of existing sources. Submissions should demonstrate imagination, original insight, and mastery of the subject.



A. Packer

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The Thirteenth Issue, Spring–Fall 2005

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The opinions expressed in the articles published in this journal do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors or Lehigh University.

All submissions and queries should be addressed to *The Lehigh Review* c/o the Humanities Center, Lehigh University, 224 W. Packer Ave., Bethlehem PA 18015, USA.

THIRTEENTH ISSUE



Triskaidekaphobia

Though we are first and foremost an academic journal, the staff hopes that you find within these pages not only excellent examples of Lehigh's brightest minds, but also an embodiment of Lehigh's unique spirit. In short, we hope you find the *Lehigh Review* to be a publication with a soul of its own. We selected just over a baker's dozen of essays, but want to thank the authors of all papers submitted, without whom the *Lehigh Review* would be but the fevered dream of a madman.

The number thirteen is commonly linked to bad luck and superstition; however, we at the *Lehigh Review* are excited because this issue marks our coming of age. We are growing up, so grab your yarmulke and get ready for the electric slide because we're having a bar mitzvah! Mazel tov! To honor those who have danced that crazy dance before us, we have decided to include art selections from Lehigh's 1912 and 1913 *Epitome* yearbooks. There were some mighty strange happenings on this campus in the days of yore.

Fear of the number thirteen (triskaidekaphobia) is still prevalent in Western societies. Even today, many towns and suburbs don't have thirteen as a street number, and most hotels do not have rooms with 13 on the door. Many skyscrapers do not have a 13th story, with the elevator going straight from floor 12 to 14, and some airplanes avoid numbering the 13th aisle. While embracing the spooky side of the number thirteen, we also want to remind readers of thirteen's wonderful attributes. There were thirteen original colonies. The thirteenth amendment to the constitution abolished slavery. Mathematically, thirteen is interesting; it's one of the prime numbers, and is also the seventh number in the Fibonacci sequence. So you see? There's really nothing to be afraid of. Except the sonnet on the next page. It's just plain disturbing.

Dustin McCrae
Sarah Benefiel
Editors

The traditional sonnet on the following page was penned by Morgan Henning to honor a very special Lehigh professor.

Welcome to the 13th Floor

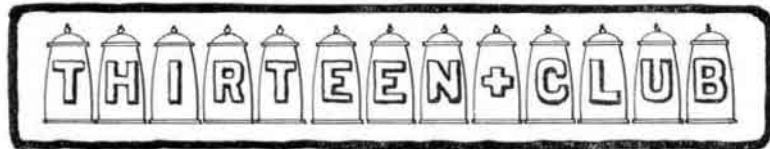
It seethes with red veins and bones
Emerges from death in rare, **m**orbid form
Blades burd**e**n your visceral groans
Which cause dema**n**d for guts so warm

Eat an author and **d** spit out their brains
For they will stick to these pag**e**s
Absorb their p**l**ight until intellect reigns
And a spell is cast on men in cage**s**

Metal bars that **o**nce broke our jaws
Are swung upon childr**e**n, they soon bleed
As a small sacrifice to strengthen our claws
So we can search the canyons with speed

As your soul transforms from old to new
Thirteen drips with blood, as meat in a stew

Morgan Henning, Editor



The ornamental artwork in this issue is from the 1912 and 1913 volumes of the Epitome.



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Seduction is Nothing But a Game Played by Filthy Liars

BY ALEX GROSSKURTH

Two weekends ago on a Saturday night, I was overcome with an acute, debilitating loneliness. Because I dreaded being confined within the hospital-white walls of my Campus Square apartment, I ventured out into the world of Lehigh nightlife. With the assumption that my afflictions in the game of love are somewhat atypical, my interest focused on the healthy *seduction* which was presumably taking place all around me; so I journeyed up the hill to where the fraternities reside and the social scene here is centered. My goal was to examine the activities of Lehigh students on a typical Saturday night, and to study the methods of seduction used by my peers.

I quietly slinked through the token wooded areas and unavoidable parking lots to avoid being seen from the twisting roads overflowing with party people, who were the subjects of my study. I eventually stopped below the Sayre Park apartments, near the top of campus, and peered down the steep incline towards a particularly raucous party from which loud music was emanating. I could tell by the abundance of masculinity-affirming yelling and high-fiveing that I was observing the escapades of some drunken frat boys. Although it was still relatively early in the night, the party had by now migrated to the front lawn of the fraternity. The front door lay broken on the walkway, with shattered shards of glass everywhere. None of this upset the party though; instead, the high-fives were *congratulations* for the young man who had managed to cause that level of mindless destruction.

Just then, three beautiful female students appeared, wearing their most revealing and thereby *finest* Saturday Night garb. They pranced up the driveway in their highest high heels, with tiny purses dangling at their sides, and entered this chaotic scene without the slightest reservation or worry. The prettiest girl let out a high-pitched greeting to the frat boy who was responsible for the destruction of the door, ran up to him, laid her arms around his neck and kissed him. I was watching another nearby male student quietly try to sweep up the pieces of glass from the lawn, when I heard something coming out of the trees to my left. It was a full grown doe, who had journeyed out of the forest for a midnight snack. She looked directly at me, seemingly unafraid, while I just stared back, motionless. The deer pranced closer and closer and then innocently stopped to eat some grass... before suddenly turning around and jaunting back into

her forest home. I watched, feeling embarrassed for my species.

Walking back down the hill, I tried to comprehend what I had just witnessed.

The male which had just a minute ago broken down his house's front door in a drunken show of force, then stood in the lawn yelling and carrying on, was the one by which that beautiful female had been seduced. Her seducer was not one of the onlookers, or the boy dutifully sweeping up the mess, or myself, or anyone else, it was that particular male who takes pride in displays of aggressive stupidity. I had to wonder, what is it about that frat boy that is seductive? And if he is a successful seducer, should I be like him to cure my incessant loneliness? An exploration of seduction was now necessary, because it had become all the more enigmatic.

In *Either/Or Part I*, Kierkegaard illustrates that there are two types of seducers. There is the *immediate* seducer, epitomized by Don Juan, and the *reflective* seducer, characterized by Johannes, whose exploits are described in extreme detail in "The Seducer's Diary". Their methods are diametrically opposed, because the immediate seeks sensuous love and the reflective seeks psychical love, but regardless, seduction is the name of the game for both. I should note that seduction is a game played by both men and women, young and old, rich and poor, and so I will not distinguish along those lines. The only distinction I will make, for now, is that of type. Namely, is the seducer reflective or immediate?

Immediate seduction is defined as exactly that, immediate. There is no time-span for this type of seduction; it is each and every moment. Of Don Juan, "for him everything is merely an affair of the moment" (94). Don Juan, through sheer attractiveness and the art of persuasion, is legendary for having seduced 1,003 Spanish women. He did this immediately, in that he didn't strategize or plot it ahead of time; the act coincided with the thought. Kierkegaard describes Don Juan thusly: "Shrewd levelheadedness is lacking in him... He needs no preparation, no plan, no time, for he is always ready" (101).

This is precisely the opposite nature of Johannes, who plans everything ahead of time, down to the slightest detail. He is shy and so cannot simply act seductively as Don Juan does; he relies on a pre-calculated, highly-structured strategy. "One should always make preparatory studies; everything must be properly arranged" (342). Johannes employs reflective seduction because he favors the interesting to the beautiful, the psychical to the sensuous. Johannes complains that an *immediate* seducer "does not enjoy the situation since he himself is wrapped up in it, hidden in it" (335). Therefore, the goal for a reflective seducer is not *being in love*, but the *knowledge of being in love*.

The final difference between the reflective and immediate seducer is that the reflective seducer has only one particular prey. Whereas Don Juan seduced 1,003 women in Spain and loved the universal essence of femininity, Johannes loved *only* Cordelia for the months and months in which he obsessed over her. His entire diary is about *Cordelia* in her particular individuality. As such, Kierkegaard points out that we can characterize the immediate seducer as "extensive" and the reflective seducer as "intensive" in their methods (108).

Both methods of seduction are *intentional deception*. The seducer presents him-or-herself in a way in which he or she is not; pretends; puts on a show or act. Indeed, the Oxford English Dictionary defines *seduce* as "to lead (a person) astray in conduct or belief." The conduct of seduction therefore relies on taking a person away from their previous path, by giving them a new path to follow; one of infatuation and love for you. To make the new path attractive, you must convince them that their previous path was incorrect and thereby lead them *astray*, or to *mislead*. As such, seduction cannot be wholly honest. Indeed, who has ever known a seducer to be honest and straightforward in his or her conquests? Would that be *seductive* at all? Who is erotically excited by factual truth, when a lie/act/show is so much more titillating? All seducers, regardless of reflective or immediate type, are simultaneously *deceivers*.

This principle is demonstrated in Kierkegaard's two examples. Don Juan is a deceiver through and through, and his deception is that he is *faithful*. He seduces 1,003 women but says to *each* that she is the *only* one he truly cares about. "Don Juan is a downright seducer. His love is sensuous, not psychical, and, according to its concept, sensuous love is not faithful but totally faithless; it loves not one but all – that is, it seduces all" (94). In the moment of seduction, he promises his eternal love to the prey, and when they believe the lie, he has won. Then, demonstrating his immediate nature, after each victory the immediate seducer moves on to the next victim in his faithless and perpetual seduction of the entire female gender. In pretending to be faithful, Don Juan's *deception* is that he is not immediate but *reflective*, because a faithful man *reflects* on his one particular prey, and focuses solely on her as the solitary love he desires, a reflective exercise. No faithfulness can come from sensual experience alone; the psychical faculties of humanity are necessary to idealize an individual and posit them as "mine." By portraying himself as a reflective male, *opposite* in temperament to his true nature solely for the purpose of seduction, Don Juan thus deceives in the ultimate sense. Kierkegaard concurs that Don Juan's seduction requires deception, "He enjoys the satisfaction of desire; as soon as he has enjoyed it, he seeks a new object, and so it goes on indefinitely. Thus he does indeed deceive" (99). Deception is the essence of Don Juan, the archetypal immediate seducer.

Johannes is likewise a deceiver through and through, but his deception is not that he is faithful, but that he is *desirable*. Thus his lie is that he is not reflective but *immediate*, because the desirable man does not contemplate or reflect upon his actions, but simply *acts*, in a fearless and immediate manner. Throughout all of Johannes' conduct in "The Seducer's Diary", he attempts to display to Cordelia that he is a man of *action*, not consigned to timidly ponder, in order to gain her desire. From the moment he meets her, he tries to give the impression that he is *not thinking of her* but in fact is busy with other concerns. "With a quickened pace, I hurried past her as if I did not notice her in the remotest way" (333). Treating her with a "cold, almost supercilious apathy" he continually demonstrates that he is not easily moved, that he cannot be easily won over. This lie of his being desirable drives all of Johannes' actions with Cordelia, so much so that he intentionally stalks her only to pass by without so much as a glance,

just to make her curious of him (338). Later in the seduction process, he pushes poor bashful Edward into being a suitor of Cordelia, who Cordelia flees from, into the arms of the seemingly worldlier Johannes. If there is one word to describe their relationship, it is manipulation. Johannes spins a huge strategic web in which Cordelia follows his whims, from lying to her family (420) to breaking off their engagement so that he can unhinge their love from the convention (438). Throughout his diary, Johannes constantly admits his lying, "It takes a bit more than honesty to love such a girl. That more I do have - it is deceitfulness" (385). Deception in regards to *desirability* is the essence of Johannes's relationship with Cordelia and of all reflective seduction.

Myself as a seducer would be characterized as reflective like Johannes. Reading his diary was strikingly similar to reading my own, which I keep and post online. For example my concerns and desires always concern *one woman* and not femininity in general, which demonstrates that I am an *intensive* seducer. Just like Johannes, I have spent late nights longing outside the windows of the *one* which I adore (352), forcing myself to fall completely for one particular girl. "She does not even have an inkling of my existence, even less of what is going on within me" (335). These words I have exhausted in my mind countless times. Like Johannes, I often worry that the girl whom I desire may somehow find out that I spend so much time thinking of her, for it would shatter my deception of being an *immediate* male. Since my deception is always to make the girl believe I am desirable, I am a real-life example of a *reflective seducer*.

This brings me back to the door-smashing frat boy who began this inquiry. Into which category would that drunken young man belong? If his behavior that night was indicative of his pursuit of women, then clearly I cannot call him someone who *thinks* too extensively over his conduct before acting. As such, I would say he is an immediate seducer in the form of Don Juan. This makes sense because he broke down the door before the girls even came by, so it seems that his aggressive personality is not a *show* as part of a careful, manipulative plan, but that it is actually inherent. As such his desirability (aggressiveness) is not a deception; which means *only his faithfulness is in question*.

To answer this, I recall that when the deer entered the scene, I was overcome by how these frat boys simply did not *appreciate* how good they have it. They may live their whole lives without realizing how privileged they are to attend a great school such as this and have every advantage in life. It's easy to see that this young man did not appreciate that a beautiful girl was in love with him. And without appreciation of a person, one cannot be faithful to them. How can you love an individual if you take no time to appreciate them? No, he loves *femininity in general*, or the symbols of femininity, such as vagina, breasts, high heels and tiny purses. Therefore, if that frat boy exemplifies the Lehigh standard type of seduction, it is certainly of the *immediate* category.

To recap, we have seen that all seducers are deceivers, and seduction is founded in deception. Both sorts of seducer attempt to deceive that one is of the *opposite* temperament; immediates pretend to be reflective (faithful), and reflectives pretend to be

immediate (desirable). However, up until now I have given a free pass to those who *are seduced*. The reality is that they are deceivers as well. In order to demonstrate this, I must first clarify that I will define "the seduced" as individuals *actively participating* in the process of seduction. Therefore, they know they are being seduced, by definition. This is because I must be careful not to include in this category those who are truly unaware of the seducer's game, which is directed at them. If one is genuinely oblivious to the fact that someone is attempting to seduce him or her, then I cannot characterize that person as "seduced," simply because I believe seduction is a game played by two, not one.

For the truly seduced, they know they are being seduced, and so they consciously or at least subconsciously understand the deception at the heart of their interactions with the seducer. However, in order to play this game, the seduced must *act* as if their seducer is being genuine, and so must deceive *themselves* into believing in that sincerity. As such, the seduced are deceivers, but *self-deceivers*. The seduced mind is in bad faith, lying to oneself in order to believe the innately-detected *lies* of the seducer. For an example, look no further than Sartre's woman on a first date in *Being and Nothingness*. Her date holds her hand, yet she denies that his actions have meaning (96). She knows that there is seductive intent to his actions, but must lie to herself and pretend that there is no seduction (deception) occurring. She must first believe the truth in order to deny it. Thus she self-deceives; *as do we all when being seduced*.

This just goes to show that seduction is nothing but a game played by *liars*. The whole charade is a *game* in which everyone participates in deception of oneself or of another. Surely the girl in skimpy clothes at the frat that night on the hill was *aware* of the faithlessness of her oaf seducer, yet she participated. She wears the uniform of a female college student; she acts the part and tries to believe the lie. But this is how *all seduction* works. In any flirtation, both parties can sense the deception that fills the air; it's obvious enough that everyone in the room knows it. At any party, you inevitably hear remarks such as, "A girl as pretty/special as you..." (*immediate seduction*). Or alternatively "Yeah, I caught that fish. Hauled it into the boat and clubbed it myself..." (*reflective*). The variations of these particular lines are endless, but their deception is what makes them *lines*; flirtations; seductions. Everyone involved in the game of seduction is a deceiver, the seducers and the seduced alike.

It's at this point in our inquiry that we naturally have to ask, "Can't we fall in love *truthfully*?" Isn't there a way to avoid the deception implicit in seduction by honestly presenting your desires to someone? If so, it would amount to little more than an academic dialogue of the existence of mutual attraction: hardly a romantic scenario. It's really difficult to be attracted to someone speaking frankly and matter-of-factly. It's boring! The fact of the matter is we simply *don't want* to speak plainly and honestly about mutual desire and to consummate the mutual attraction without drama. *Humans want drama!* We want seduction, betrayal, heartbreak and tragedy! We search our whole lives for these things. Seduction is exciting *because* one knows one is being deceived; especially when both parties are simultaneously aware of the mutual decep-

tion and double self-deception. Oh, the theater! That's what makes flirtation *erotic*; straightforward honesty isn't nearly as *arousing*. How boring it would be to avoid all such conflict. In Part I, Kierkegaard concurs, "If there is no combat in love then it has ceased" (378) and "To love is beautiful only as long as resistance is present" (445). To want to forego seduction is to want to avoid the whole dynamic of flirtation that makes love so appealing and without which sex is just mutual masturbation.

Seduction is a game, for sure. But *we need to play the game*. Seduction is the underpinning behind the very best comic and tragic moments of life. We cannot enjoy our lives without a little seduction and love. It is essential. Who would want to live in a brutally honest, straight-and-narrow kind of world where people always tell the honest-to-God truth about themselves and their intentions?

We now find ourselves in a quandary. It is clear that deception is essential to seduction, but certain deception is cruel and downright wrong. It's not yet intuitively clear what deception is tolerable and what is immoral. Our current distinction, of reflective vs. immediate seduction, is not applicable to this moral problem. Both reflective and immediate seduction can be cruel, as is the case with both Don Juan and Johannes. Likewise, both types can be harmless fun and lead to true love. As such, a new distinction must be drawn in order to set a basic moral guideline for seductive conduct.

I submit that the distinction is one of Work versus Play. In Work, we do not live as we wish; obligation rules us, not freedom. Work makes us miserable and stressed, and it causes us to do harm to others rather than good. Whereas in play we release, in work we take on. Work, or the "spirit of seriousness" as Sartre calls it (740), creates *alienation* between the subject and the object, between the seducer and his prey. This is the philosophical basis for suggesting that seduction is beneficial when it is *playful*, and harmful when it is *work*.

Looking back at the examples laid out in this paper, the reason that Don Juan and likewise Johannes are harsh, disgusting seducers is not *that* they deceive; it's *how* they deceive. For both, seduction is *work*. For them the process of seduction is not an enjoyable playtime, but a necessary chore. They participate in the game *only as a means to an end*; a sensuous goal for Don Juan and a psychical goal for Johannes. Towards the game itself they have nothing but disdain; they participate not to play but to *win*. This is the reason Don Juan is willing to discard each woman he seduces just as quickly as he can utter the words. This is why Johannes treats Cordelia as a helpless, stupid child. Each is disrespectful to those that they seduce because they *disrespect seduction itself*. Seduction is meant to be a *game*; a playful, fun, enjoyable game; not work.

Only when one *enjoys seduction*, when one plays at it and treats it not as means to an end but *as an end in itself*, is seduction moral and beneficial. It is theater; playfulness and pretend. Both seducer and seduced are actors in the performance, and enjoy their respective roles, without malevolence towards (alienation from) their counterpart. The deception present therein is still deception, for sure, but it is benevolent, caring, loving even. It is cooperative rather than competitive, mutual rather than selfish, involved amusement rather than estranged labor. As such, playful seduction is play *for both* the

seducer and the seduced. Neither has to work to deceive in that kind of game. The deception comes easily and freely for both. Therefore, faithful reader, whether you find yourself more often the seducer or the seduced, this may be an important lesson. If seduction to you is a matter of work, if it causes you stress or discomfort, you are going about it all wrong. Make it *fun*, make it recreation, and make it play.

In conclusion, we have seen that seduction is indeed nothing but a game, and a game played solely by deceivers. There are two types of seducers, immediate and reflective. Immediate seducers seek sensuous love and their deception is to be in the category of reflective, i.e. they pretend to be faithful. Reflective seducers seek psychical love (the knowledge of being in love), and their deception is to be in the category of immediate or desirable. As for motive, perhaps we can think of this ultimate deception as an attempt to achieve the illusion of being a perfect mate, synthesizing both reflectivity and immediacy. It works like the following (substituting immediate for reflective or vice versa): While one's *true* reflective nature will be apparent to some degree, a deception of the existence of immediacy can complete the synthesis and provide the illusion of being a perfect mate: *simultaneously desirable and faithful*. Perhaps this is the goal of all deceit inherent in seduction.

We have also seen that not only are seducers deceivers but the seduced deceive as well, through self-deception. Upon making this realization of complete and shameless deception, it would be easy to formally reject seduction in general: to declare the rules cruel and the game itself tantamount to vicious trickery. This belief would lead one into the closet of loneliness and despair, turning him or her against humanity and swearing off *love* forever. Clearly that is no solution, for love is what makes life worth living. Affection, trust, respect and emotion keep us alive, keep us hopeful, and keep us motivated. Luckily then, there is a way out of this despair, and it is to *play*! To *enjoy* seduction, to *reclaim* it, to make it *fun*, to transform it from manipulative fraud into silly, flirtatious *pretending*. Seduction may be a game played by liars, but do you enjoy it?

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The Competing Narratives of 9/11

BY ASHLEY JOHNSON
AND VINCENT TAS



If you think about the way in which people get their news, it is so often in fragments of disconnected images and headlines. The story is too easily summed up by the front page of the newspaper. The cover of the newspaper is the beginning of a narrative that is infiltrated in culture. The way in which the story is framed generates history. For this analysis, we were particularly interested in the way that September 11th was framed across the world. The objective is to analyze the way in which the events of 9/11 were covered by the U.S. and overseas press. What is the reaction of American, European, and Middle East newspapers to the events that took place on September 11, 2001? Is there a pattern in the articles, a common language they use? Is the story of September 11th the same in America as it is in the rest of the world? What generalizations can be made about all media coverage across the world? Are international papers more or less “objective” when analyzing September 11th than American national papers? If the international papers have a different story about what happened on September 11th, does this mean the media are giving state propaganda? If we could find some differences

between the ways that American newspapers discussed what happened on September 11th versus what international papers say, we could begin to understand to what extent propaganda exists in our society. There are three main parts analyzed in the national and international papers: the front page images, the headlines, and the story.

The Front Page of the American and International Press

Once you start to look, you'll see how difficult it is to find the actual front pages of international newspapers. While it is easier to find the text of newspapers online; it is more difficult to recover actual newspapers. This makes it challenging to actually see how the story is framed visually during that moment in history. However, because September 11th is such an important date, sources are more easily obtainable. Part of the problem with our media system is that visual perspectives outside the American mainstream media are hard to find. Fortunately, the internet allows us to see more of the images that were missing from the American perspective of the coverage. In analyzing the front cover of newspapers, there were several websites used such as www.poynterextra.org, www.newseum.org, and www.september11news.com. These websites collected the front pages of newspapers from the day of or the day after September 11th 2001. Another very useful source was the archive of *DeStandaard*, the most respected newspaper of Belgium. They have a collection of newspaper articles published in the days after 9/11. Interestingly, there is a collection of (translated) reactions of the biggest newspapers around the world on 9/12: <http://www.standaard.be/archief/dossiers/index.asp?dosID=422>. Other sources include <http://www.onlinenewspapers.com>, a start page to look for papers all over the world, and www.worldpress.org, very useful certainly for the translated articles out of the Middle East.

IMAGERY

The images of September 11th are burned into the collective memory of the American public. That moment in which the planes hit the World Trade Center is difficult to forget because it was repeated over and over again in the media. Part of the problem with this is that the images often cover up the explanation behind the event. Imagine, for example, that photography or video did not exist. Would we better understand why September 11th happened? Neal Postman, author of *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, explains how the "graphic revolution," "the new imagery, with photography at its forefront, did not merely function as a supplement to language, but bid to replace it as our dominant means for construing, understanding, and testing reality." Photography lacks syntax, depriving the ability to argue with the world. Thus, in a sense, "photography is preeminently a world of fact," while language is the "medium we use to challenge, dispute, and cross-examine what comes into view, what is on the surface." The use of photography during September 11th further dramatized the event, downplaying the larger questions of why it happened.

There are a few general observations that can be made about the similarities and differences between the images found in national papers versus those found in international papers. In general, the front page images found in the American newspapers



on the day of or after the attack were based on the single image of the two World Trade Center Buildings being attacked. Instead of showing a variety of viewpoints, most of the American front pages had a picture of the attack when the towers were still standing, as if you are in New York watching the event as it was happening. By counting the 405 national newspapers on the www.september11news.com site, 57% of the main photographs found on the front page of American newspapers are close up shots of the World Trade Center still standing either at the moment of impact or soon after, when it is burning. When you compare this to the major International Papers, the images are slightly different. Of the 255 International newspapers, only 58 or 38% showed close up pictures of the towers standing. One possible explanation for this could be that many of the International papers did not use the same "moment of impact" photos because of the time difference. Another explanation is that the international papers framed the story differently than the national press. Perhaps this shows to what extent the American press was in shock, while the international press was already concerned with showing the aftermath of the destruction. Another difference between the American images and the international images is that the latter showed more humans in distress. According to Axel Moser and Michel Millar, author of "Press Coverage of 9/11 and its Aftermath," "none of the US newspapers had photos of bodies falling from the towers, but O Dia (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), for instance, showed a picture of a victim falling to his death."

Another visual aspect that is quite interesting of both national and international front pages is that neither showed many pictures of the Pentagon being attacked. On the front cover all that was emphasized was the World Trade Center attack. It is as if the collective memory of the Pentagon attack did not happen because the media didn't show pictures of it until at least the 2nd or 3rd page (if that). In this sense, seeing has become the basis of believing. There are several conspiracy theories surrounding whether or not the Pentagon actually was hit by a Boeing 757. Several different on-line

sources hint that the Pentagon was actually hit by a cruise missile and the initial hole of the attack was too small to have been made by a Boeing 757. These discrepancies could explain why the media did not emphasize the story or show pictures on the front cover. The availability of photographs can often determine what the media decides to focus on. According to Bennett, author of “News Content: Four Information Biases that Matter”, “there is often a tension between not reporting important stories that are hard to picture.” Perhaps part of the reason that the Pentagon attack was not a larger story was not only that it was a less of a human loss, but there weren’t the same kind of dramatic visual images available to the media.

HEADLINES

Immediately, the name “9/11” was written into history with the headlines of the mass media. According to Joe Marren, “headlines are as much a design element as a front door to the news.” One word headlines were used in 63 of the 405 American papers. The most popular term used was “TERROR” or “ATTACK” in American newspapers. A popular headline phrase in international papers was “APOCALYPSE”. These headlines are enticing, yet give little insight as to why the incident happened. They grab the reader’s attention similar to that of an advertisement so that you are motivated to read more. Fragmentation of information emphasizes “individual actors over the political contexts in which they operate” and “is heightened by the use of dramatic formats that turn events into self-contained, isolated happenings.” The headlines are fragmented in a way that isolate September 11th as something disconnected from the history of terrorism and foreign policy. Imagine if the newspapers used the one word headline of “PAYBACK” rather than “UNTHINKABLE” (which was frequently used); how different would the event be framed in our collective memory. Again and again, the headlines of newspapers showed shock and drama rather than explanation.

American News Stories

There is a general theme in the narrative of major American newspapers on September 11th and 12th, 2001. The articles depicted a country in shock, yet lacked an explanation for motives behind the events. Here is an analysis of the major news articles on the front page or as opt-ad editorials immediately following the events that



took place on September 11th, 2001. What is important about these stories is that they are likely the most widely read articles about the attacks because of their timing. As result, these are the articles that shape the narrative around the event, significantly make history.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

The *Los Angeles Times* op-ed editorial printed on September 13, 2001 frames America as a country of freedom and tolerance. It glorifies New York as a place where people have come for centuries to have a better life. The *LAT* portrays the USA in a way that makes it difficult to understand why anyone would want to attack such a country. Such an article should have been written on a day in which there was no attack, for ironically, they fail to ask the question of why anyone would want to harm it. The *LAT* ends the article by saying that there will be consequences. The article lacks an in-depth analysis of the larger questions surrounding U.S. foreign policy.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

New York Times

Nation Plunges Into Fight With Enemy Hard to Identify

By R. W. Apple Jr. Washington, Sept. 11

...But Mr. Bush alone must decide how to retaliate and against whom, and he will be operating in a murky area.

Some strategists suggested that Mr. Bush might mount a ground attack on bin Laden's headquarters, which are believed to be somewhere in Afghanistan, much as Woodrow Wilson sent American troops into Mexico before World War I to capture Pancho Villa dead or alive.

If the United States develops solid evidence that any country aided the perpetrators of today's attacks, said Richard C. Holbrooke, ambassador to the United Nations under the Clinton administration, a declaration of war against that country might be appropriate and retaliation against it should certainly be undertaken in short order...

The *New York Times* article questions how to retaliate against the terrorists, not what can be done to stop further violence. They suggest striking back with light and deadly weapons to destroy the terrorist camps. The article mentions cruise missiles as being efficient. According to the article, America has to make clear to its allies that terrorism is a global threat. The whole focus of the article is on retaliation. The *NYT* even asks “why the date 9/11” but nowhere do they ask, “what could have been the motivation of the hijackers” (a more important question).

The New York Times

Hijacked Jets Destroy Twin Towers and Hit Pentagon

By Serge Schemann

...President Bush, facing his first major crisis in office, vowed that the United States would hunt down and punish those responsible for the "evil, despicable acts of terror" which, he said, took thousands of American lives. He said the United States would make no distinction between those who carried out the hijackings and those who harbored and supported them. Apart from the major question of who was responsible, a host of other questions were certain to be at the forefront in coming days and weeks. One was the timing -- why Sept. 11?...

The *New York Times* article found on September 12, 2001 is interesting from the standpoint that it analyzes who attacked and why on the date of "September 11th", yet it does not shed light on what the political motives were.

USA TODAY

The main story on USA Today predicts: "When the mourning ends, the tears will turn swiftly to anger, and how that anger is managed may define..." (9/12). There will be more attacks, predicts the newspaper. The solution this paper gives for the attack that happened the day before is to search those responsible and eliminate them. Not only the terrorists, but also their hosts and those that supported them financially should be eradicated. The *USA Today* raises questions such as: why could our US intelligence not avoid or predict such an attack or why was our flight system so vulnerable? But the *USA Today* does not ask what the reasons were for the attack!

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The *Wall Street Journal* uses the analogy of World War II to explain what the reaction should be for the attacks saying, "...the east coast carnage was the fruit of the Clinton administration's Munich-like appeasement of the Palestinians". The *WSJ* says that history repeats itself and we must learn from Chamberlain and Munich. The *Wall Street Journal* implies that democracies have become soft. Freedom created prosperity and by this we thought we could resolve all conflicts with money. The *WSJ* blames the policy of Clinton in the Middle East. We are now paying the price for the policy of Clinton. The *WSJ* also uses the term "evil" frequently. They see the attacks as a form of evil (rather than looking behind the result of US foreign policy).

THE WASHINGTON POST

Terrorists Hijack 4 Airliners, Destroy World Trade Center, Hit Pentagon; Hundreds Dead, Bush Promises Retribution; Military Put on Highest Alert

By Michael Grunwald

Washington Post Staff Writer

Wednesday, September 12, 2001; Page A01

In a grim address to the nation last night, President Bush denounced the attacks as a failed attempt to frighten the United States, and promised to hunt down those responsible. "We will make no distinction," he said, "between the

terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them."

But amid all the sadness and all the outrage, there were questions about lax security and inadequate intelligence, as Americans tried to fathom how such a catastrophe could happen with no apparent warning. America's battle against terrorism, it seemed clear last night, will never be the same.

Many members of both parties declared that for all practical purposes, the nation is at war. At a briefing last night in the battered Pentagon, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld warned that America's enemies should not rest easy.

In his speech last night, Bush emphasized the nation's harmony, noting that "a great people have been moved to defend a great nation. After reading from the 23rd Psalm, he proclaimed that even amid suffering and death, Americans will remain committed to their freedom-loving way of life. ...America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time."

The country must prepare to fight the first war of the new century. As most American newspapers, the *Washington Post* talks of vengeance. They mention Osama Bin Laden as a prime suspect, but why is this? Again, similar to the other newspapers, the *Washington Post* does not ask themselves what could have been the motives.

THE AMERICAN RESPONSE

In all of these articles, there was little talk of 'violence breeds violence' or that a massive retaliation may only invite more of the same. The only critical edge to the coverage involved raising the question about why so many official predictions about imminent terrorist threats went unreported for so long. These concerns were raised, but quickly sidelined by discussions of national complacency and/or naïveté about the world. How the U.S. intelligence apparatus could have missed this was taken only as evidence that it needs more money, not a different policy. No mention was made of the cutbacks in international news coverage that keeps so many Americans so out of touch with global events.

Missing was any discussion of possible motives by the alleged terrorists, such as why would they do this and why now? What was their political agenda? There was no mention of September 11th as the anniversary of the failed Camp David accords. There was certainly no mention of the fact that state terrorism by countries, whether they are the U.S., Russia, Iraq, Afghanistan or Israel, often triggers or hardens counterterrorism by guerrilla forces. There was virtually no international angle offered in most of the coverage except a few snatches of file footage of Osama Bin Laden fondling an AK47. Bin Laden looked like a cartoon figure (like Ali Baba in cartoons). It seemed that most newspapers were cautious about attributing this to him, perhaps because of early blame to Arabs of the Oklahoma City bombing, which turned out to be the work of an American.

European News Articles

FRANCE

The French newspaper, *Le Monde* is typically critical of the United States Government. Yet on September 12, 2001 it ran a front-page headline reading "*Nous Sommes Tous Américains*", or "We are all Americans" *Nous sommes tous Américains, nous sommes tous New Yorkais*. *Le Monde* makes the comparison with John Kennedy in 1962 in Berlin who said "we are all Berliners." *Le Monde* has also on its front page a drawing of "suspect numero un" (suspect number one): Oussama Ben Laden. Colombani says that:

Perhaps, even in Europe, from the Gulf War to the use of F-16s by the Israeli army against the Palestinians, we have underestimated the intensity of the hate, which, from the outskirts of Jakarta to those of Durban, among the rejoicing crowds in Nablus and Cairo, is focused against the United States.

Le monde seems to see the irony in condemning Bin Laden:

If Bin Laden, as the American authorities seem to think, really is the one who ordered the Sept. 11 attacks, how can we fail to recall that he was in fact trained by the CIA and that he was an element of a policy, directed against the Soviets, that the Americans considered to be wise? Might it not then have been America itself that created this demon?

Another French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, uses the same argument in an article on the front page: *La CIA a fabriqué un monster* (Patrick de SAINT-EXUPERY) , or "The CIA has created a monster." Also, *Le Figaro* speaks about "La Nouvelle Guerre" (the new War) sees this not only as an attack on America but as an attack on the whole West. Just as *Le Monde* (nous sommes tous Américains), *Le Figaro* speaks in terms of "we", saying "we are attacked" or "L'Europe fait cause commune avec l'Amérique" (Pierre BOCEV, Philippe GELIE, *Le Figaro* 12 September). One difference with the American newspapers is that *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* seem to ask why this happened. They both blame the policy of the West towards the rest of the world.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Guardian, a "leftist" newspaper of Great Britain, shares a similar view as the French newspapers in its front page article: *They can't see why they are hated*. The article implies that Americans cannot ignore what their government does abroad. Milne writes in a pessimistic article:

Nearly two days after the horrific suicide attacks on civilian workers in New York and Washington, it has become painfully clear that most Americans simply don't get it. From the president to passersby on the streets, the message seems to be the same: this is an inexplicable assault on freedom and democracy,

which must be answered with overwhelming force - just as soon as someone can construct a credible account of who was actually responsible. Shock, rage and grief there has been aplenty. But any glimmer of recognition of why people might have been driven to carry out such atrocities, sacrificing their own lives in the process - or why the United States is hated with such bitterness, not only in Arab and Muslim countries, but across the developing world - seems almost entirely absent.

Just as the French newspapers, *The Guardian* sees the irony in the history if Bin Laden is really behind the attacks:

If it turns out that Tuesday's attacks were the work of Osama bin Laden's supporters, the sense that the Americans are once again reaping a dragons' teeth harvest they themselves sowed will be overwhelming. It was the Americans, after all, who poured resources into the 1980s war against the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul, at a time when girls could go to school and women to work. Bin Laden and his mujahedin were armed and trained by the CIA and MI6, as Afghanistan was turned into a wasteland and its communist leader Najibullah left hanging from a Kabul lamp post with his genitals stuffed in his mouth. But by then Bin Laden had turned against his American sponsors, while US-sponsored Pakistani intelligence had spawned the grotesque Taliban now protecting him. To punish its wayward Afghan offspring, the US subsequently forced through a sanctions regime which has helped push millions to the brink of starvation, according to the latest UN figures, while Afghan refugees fan out across the world.

Another big English newspaper, *The Independent*, vows the same concerns as *The Guardian*. The article titled, "Doomsday," is particularly concerned by the language president Bush uses immediately after 9/11, saying, "This will be a monumental struggle of good versus evil. But good will prevail," the president said. He said the United States was prepared to spend "whatever it takes."

Terrorists will really win if the civilized world forgets their civilized values and uses unnecessary violence. The Americans also have to investigate how to take away the sources of terrorism, because as *The Independent* recalls, the IRA attacks could not have been stopped by better security; conflicts can only be resolved by taking away the sources of the conflict. *The Financial Times* says that (in the article "Assault on America") the US witnessed on 9/11 their own vulnerability. According to the article, Bush should review his policy on the Middle East. There is no direct link between what happened Tuesday and the militant Palestinians, but the attitude of Bush toward Ariel Sharon's hard policy means a source of anger among extremists in the whole region.

GERMANY

A similar argument can be found in the *Die Frankfurter Allgemeine*, a German conservative newspaper. In the article, “*Terroranschläge auf Amerika*” or “Terror Attack in America” the *DFA* says that the attacks showed the vulnerability of the US for terrorism. It is not at all sure that Islam terrorists are behind the attacks. The US has a lot of enemies who feel threatened by their economic and cultural power. Commentator Wolfgang Günter Lerch likewise stresses the importance of resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

SPAIN

Just as most European newspapers, *El País*, (liberal) shows its solidarity in this September 12, 2001 article:

...Spain has shown its full solidarity. It also suffers the scourge of terrorism, one that does have a name: ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna), the Basque separatist organization. Iraq did not join in the expressions of rejection and horror at what has happened, while Afghanistan claims it had nothing to do with the attack.

In comparison to British and Irish newspapers, is clear that *El País* sees this attack in a different perspective than most European newspapers. But also El País has its critics:

These signs of international solidarity ought to lead the United States to return to multilateralism and to stop acting, as it has done on too many occasions, as a lone ranger. The situation created by the atrocious attack has once more highlighted the need for an international justice system, with the creation of the International Criminal Court, which the United States has so far rejected... The punishment should not turn into a crusade that spills over beyond the fight against terrorism..

THE EUROPEAN RESPONSE

In general, the European publications rushed to express their grief and solidarity with the United States following the news of the September 2001 terrorist attacks. “Nous sommes tous Américains” “We Are All Americans,” Paris’ liberal *Le Monde* uncharacteristically proclaimed in its top headline on Sept. 12, 2001. And though the headline sparked controversy in France, *Le Monde* was in good company. Similar articles appeared in European newspapers from across the political spectrum. As the initial shock of the disaster gave way to grief, fear for the future crept into the commentary from the European press.

Middle East News Articles

AFGHANISTAN

The Middle East press reacted differently regarding the 9/11 attacks. We found an Afghan newspaper that appeared on 9/12/01. One of them was the *The Afghan News Network*. Its front page title was “Taliban Condemn Attacks in U.S.” and stated:

KABUL, Afghanistan (AP) - Afghanistan's hardline Taliban rulers condemned the devastating terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on Tuesday and rejected suggestions that Osama bin Laden could be behind them.(...) "Such a big conspiracy, to have infiltrated in such a major way is impossible for Osama," Muttmain told The Associated Press in a telephone interview. He said bin Laden does not have the facilities to orchestrate such a major assault within the United States.

JORDAN

The Arab papers were very blunt by blaming the attack on the result of U.S.’s foreign policies throughout the years. An example is an article from *The Jordan Times*, titled “For the arrogance of power America now pays a terrible price,” which states,

The American nation appears not only immensely distressed and angry about the bombings but surprised too. It cannot understand why anyone should be moved by such hatred against it and, inured from the rest of us by the isolationism of most of its political representatives and its media, it has little idea of the currents swirling against it.

The Jordan Times says that they are quite sure that the situation in Palestine caused the attacks in America. A lack of surprise that this happened was common in many Arab newspapers.

SAUDI ARABIA

Another Arab newspaper, *Al-Hayat*, used proud language in explaining how some “maniacs” could achieve such an attack with just knives:

“The incident of Terrible Tuesday came as a horrific strike to U.S. arrogance, especially when it proved to everyone that a few guns or knives held by some 10 to 20 maniacs could do that amount of harm and destroy the greatest army and security machinery on earth.” The logical deduction should question why the United States in particular? Why its people? What is the main concealed Israeli secret behind it?

EGYPT

Most Arab newspapers focus on the fact that America could be hit so “easily.” Also, the fact that they say the attacks “destroyed the greatest army in the world” points in that direction. The same kind of language is used in the Egyptian newspaper, *Samir Ragab, Al-Gumburiya*:

American pride would be attacked by aircraft coming undetected from all points on the compass and without warning from America’s renowned intelligence agencies. Worse, state of the art communications failed to report the exact number of casualties.

This article seems to tell readers that the USA is not as powerful as commonly thought. For the preponderance of Arab commentators, the phrases “misuse of power” and “abuse” of moral foundations express the overwhelming sentiment in the region that U.S. policy is unfairly biased toward Israel and America support for unjust policies, such as the devastating U.N. sanctions against Iraq. But in the absence of concrete evidence about the identity of the perpetrators, many in the Arab press offered broad critiques of U.S. foreign policy. Cautioning that it was still too early to determine who was behind the attacks, Faisal Salman, writing in Beirut’s daily *Al-Safir* (Sept. 12), remarked that while the enmity required to inspire mass murder such as that seen in New York and Washington is difficult to imagine, it does reflect the “degree of frustration, despair, and hatred that America inspires, calling for a very long moment of reflection” about U.S. policies. Perhaps the attacks will spark a moment of American self-examination, he speculates. “The strike is painful, but it may push the American people to ask: Why are the terrorists targeting us? The U.S. administration will have to provide an answer to its people’s question.” Condemning the terrorism and echoing a similar sentiment, the Palestinian expatriate *Al-Quds al-Arabi* of London (Sept. 12), in its main editorial, told its readers that it has a “duty to call upon American citizens to ask why, among the interests and embassies of all Western powers, is it their country’s embassies, buildings, and defense establishments that are targeted by such terrorist actions?”

ISRAEL

9/11 is viewed differently in Israel. In an article in *Ma’ariv*, titled, “The Beginning of the End of Terror” it states:

This is the reality that we have faced for many months, and only now will the Western world understand its implications. One can assume that in France suicide bombers will no longer be referred to as freedom fighters and that Belgium, Denmark, and the rest of Europe will not lend legitimacy to the struggle’s terrible character, which dictates killing people, women, and so on, simply as a means to [the reward of] 100 virgins in heaven.

In *The Jerusalem Post*, perspectives about the attacks are also rooted and inseparable from the current Israeli-Palestinian paradigm “Now I know how the Israelis feel” (*Melissa Radler*). The *JP* argues that the U.S. should stop beating around the bush and calls its response to terrorism what it really is -- the West vs. Islam. “Only containment by overwhelming force can enable the West to successfully resist its deadly challenges,” writes *JP*. But satisfying this week’s Israel/Palestine theme, the article finally inserts indignation at recent U.S. demands that Israel show more restraint in the wake of top-level Israeli Cabinet member Rechavam Zeevi’s assassination, arguing that the U.S. should stop placating the terrorists themselves, meaning Arafat, and cease “forcing Israel to make dangerous concessions to Arab terrorism.” *The Jerusalem Post* itself even editorializes, albeit extremely subtly, that the U.S. and Israel are in it together -- and the only way to avoid future terrorist attacks in both countries is to “take on Saddam.” Note, this is the only newspaper found that mentions Saddam Hussein. The *JP* also reports, “Palestinians celebrated upon hearing about the attack, calling it fit and proper response to US support for Israel”.

Conclusion

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis of the media coverage on the day of and after September 11, 2001. The way in which the front page news articles across the world framed the event will shape history forever. There were several competing narratives regarding September 11th found in the American, European, and Middle East press.

The headlines of the American press largely showed a sense of shock and drama. Words of disbelief were threaded through the headlines with words such as “TERROR” and “UNTHINKABLE”. Furthermore, the images found on the front pages of the newspapers were primarily concerned with the World Trade Center. The most popular picture was that “moment of impact” photo in which the towers stood with smoke billowing out. American newspapers showed several more pictures of the World Trade Center being attacked than the international press did, which more often depicted a far out panoramic picture of New York City or an aftermath wreckage photo. Visually the images are important because they shape our perception of the event. Furthermore, by only showing images of the World Trade Center on the cover and failing to give pictures of the attack on the Pentagon, the latter is largely forgotten in our visual memories. How does a lack of Pentagon imagery affect our perceptions? In the “age of show business,” as Neil Postman explains, our society discounts events that are not visually recorded. Without understanding that the World Trade Center represents our economic and foreign policy, which throughout history has exploited and suppressed people around the world, many Americans forget that the attack was deliberately political in nature. Many are likely to see the attack on the Pentagon as political because it is clearly a government building, but the attack on the World Trade Center is less obvious for someone who doesn’t have a great understanding of economic and foreign policy. Thus, front page images of the attack on the Pentagon are important in the sense that they could have shown the reader that the ac-

tions of the terrorists are rational for they are not just “fanatical fundamentalists” on a joyride to kill thousands.

What we found from this analysis is that the American news coverage focused on events and details largely from the perspective of the American government. While technical questions were the focus of debate, important questions were forgotten. As Michael Traugott and Ted Brader explains this further,

...the coverage of motives, goals, or explanations gets short shrift. Paletz (1985) found that less than 6% of newspaper coverage was devoted to such explanations, and the vast majority of coverage (almost 75%) ignored causes or objectives. Atwater (1987) found that less than 3% of network television coverage was devoted to these kinds of explanations. Studies of the labeling of perpetrators with such terms as “guerillas,” “terrorists,” or “insurgents” suggests the selective use of such terms by journalists in ways that correspond to the interest of the government (Epstein, 1977).

The World Trade Center is a symbol of the capitalist system that exploits much of the “Third World” through its trading policies. One could attribute the World Trade Center as the heart of this oppressive economic system. The Pentagon is a symbol of the military system that attacks people around the world. It is the brain of the American foreign policy. On the day of or after September 11th in both the American and European press, there was little explanation about the significance of these buildings. There was no discussion as to what the buildings represent. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were probably done for reasons rooted to economic and foreign policy. Instead, the questions that were asked in the American press were immediately “Who did it? Why now? And how did they do it?” Yet, the larger questions of why the attacks occurred were brushed off. The explanation, if given at all in the American press, consisted of quotes from President Bush explaining that the terrorists attacked America “because we’re the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world.” In using this as an explanation for the event, the media failed to reveal the larger answers. Thus, the media merely became a tool for the government by not discrediting Bush’s explanation for the attacks.

Why was there no in-depth questioning about the motivations of the attacks on September 11th in the press? There are several reasons for this and not just one simple answer. Perhaps one of the main reasons is that the American press was concerned with not appearing sympathetic enough in a time of crisis. They did not want to appear unpatriotic. Herman and Chomsky, author of *Manufacturing Consent*, refers to this as flak. Another filter that explains why the motivations were not explained is the result of the way they sourced information. As stated above, President Bush’s state of union address was used most of the time to explain the event. The sources of information the American newspapers relied on were probably the White House, Pentagon and State department. Government sources have the great merit of being recognizable and credible by their status and prestige, yet this doesn’t necessarily mean their statements are valid. Another reason for the heavy weight given to official sources is because the

media wants to be “objective dispensers of news” says Herman and Chomsky. The American newspapers explained the event as an attack against the “free democratic world” as a “battle between good and evil” or as a “fight of religions.” This same narrative was also heard in Israeli newspapers, furthering the point that Americans can understand what the Jewish people endure.

The European newspapers did a lot more of explaining the political backgrounds behind the attacks. They mentioned American foreign policy as one of the possible reasons for the motivations of the terrorist attacks. Nevertheless, there was not much explanation of the economic roots of the World Trade Center. They avoided discussing how the World Trade Center is a symbol of the economic system which runs trading and foreign policies. A theme in the European press was the claim that America should pose the question of “what are the roots of September 11th?” In some ways the press was highly critical, such as the French newspaper, *Le Monde Diplomatique*:

Throughout the world, and particularly in the countries of the South, the most common public reaction to the attacks in New York and Washington has been: what happened in New York was sad but the US deserved it.”

(...) it is worth recalling that throughout the Cold War the US was involved in a crusade against communism. Sometimes that involved mass exterminations. Thousands of communists killed in Iran, 200,000 opposition leftists killed in Guatemala; almost 1 million communists killed in Indonesia. Atrocities filled the pages of the black book of American imperialism during those years—years that also saw the horrors of the Vietnam War (1962-45). This too was marketed as a battle between good and evil.

In comparison to the American and European press, the Arab press used blunt language when describing the attack. Their reaction was not that of surprise. Rather they saw it as a logic consequence of American foreign policy. They focused on the imperialistic policies of the United States in their explanation of the event.

Our investigation of the media showed to what extent the American media is living in a political island. Someone who informed oneself of the attacks by reading only American newspapers just after the attacks would have a quite narrow image of the events that took place on 9/11. On the days after the attack, the American press failed to give a variety of foreign perspectives which created a monolithic understanding of the situation. Pluralism is important for democracy and in order to gain a variety of views, one must have access to a wide array of media outlets. While the sources are available, our media culture does not promote the seeking of knowledge outside the mainstream.

“You can’t really have all this stuff on the front pages, so you have to push it off the front pages. You have to keep people from thinking about it. And there’s only one way that anybody ever figured out: to frighten people. And they’re good at it.” --Noam Chomsky

Endnotes

- ¹ Neil Postman. *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*. New York: Viking Press, 1986 p. 74
- ² Ibid, Neil Postman. p. 73
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Killing Without Murder: Aboriginal Assimilation Policy as Genocide

JESSICA SCHIMMEL

Introduction

History is written by the victorious, the saying goes. This is a case of history being rewritten by the victims. From as far back as 1814 and until as recently as 1980, Australian state governments were forcibly removing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families and communities with the intention of remolding those children to become part of the white, European society. Couched in the Social Darwinism and eugenics theories that were so popular at the time, the forced assimilation into European culture was seen to be for the benefit of all involved. Regardless of whether their intentions were benevolent or malicious, the perpetrators of these acts aimed to eliminate the Indigenous people of Australia through these Stolen Generations.¹ Simply put, Australia's indigenous assimilation policy in the twentieth century – as embodied by the Stolen Generations – constituted biological and socio-cultural genocide.

We may go home, but we cannot relive our childhoods. We may reunite with our mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, communities, but we cannot relive the 20, 30, 40 years that we spent without their love and care, and they cannot undo the grief and mourning we felt when we were separated from them. We can go home to ourselves as Aboriginals, but this does not erase the attacks inflicted on our hearts, minds, bodies and souls by caretakers who thought their mission was to eliminate us as Aboriginals.²

Working Definitions

Words have immense power, the power to do harm when wielded incorrectly. Because of this it is necessary to make clear from the outset what certain terms refer to in this essay.

Genocide is a compelling, oft misunderstood word. It was coined by a Polish jurist named Raphael Lemkin in the wake of the German Holocaust. In 1944, he used the Greek root “genos,” meaning race or tribe, and the Latin root “cide,” meaning killing to create a word for an action which was hardly new.

Genocide is 'the coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of the essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be the disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion and the economic existence of the national groups, and the destruction of personal security, liberty, health, dignity and even the lives of individuals belonging to such groups.'³

Genocide is most often understood to mean the brazen and deliberate murder of a group of people. Sometimes it is more sophisticated than gas chambers, starvation tactics, machetes and guns. Lemkin's definition formed the foundation for the United Nations Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted in 1948. Article II of that Convention states that "genocide means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."⁴

Here it is clearly apparent that the Stolen Generations and the forcible removal of Aboriginal children from their families and communities into institutions or foster care (most often with a non-Aboriginal family) fall under Article II (e) of the Genocide Convention. It could also be argued that the Australian governments are guilty of clauses (b), (c) and (d). Article III also made conspiracy and attempt to commit genocide punishable offences. Included in that definition will be an understanding that genocide is an umbrella term encompassing "ethnocide," that is, the attempt to destroy the culture of a people without necessarily killing the members of that group.

The next important idea that must be defined is what constitutes an Indigenous identity. During the time period in question the definition of a "native" was drawn by administrators from Western Australia's Native Administration Act of 1936, which included "any person of full-blood descended from the original inhabitants of Australia," unless they were "a quadroon under 21 years of age who neither associates with or lives substantially after the manner of the class of persons mentioned, a quadroon over 21 years old, or any person of less than quadroon blood who was born prior to the 31st day of December, 1936."⁵ Many Australians believed that Social Darwinism placed Northern Europeans at the height of the "survival of the fittest" ladder. Social Darwinist theories were used to vilify and dehumanize the Indigenous people of Australia.

Finally, the modern definition of Aboriginality is ambiguous at best. A person must be of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent, self-identify as an Aboriginal

or Torres Strait Islander, and be accepted as such by the community in which that person is living.

Working Values

It is easy to judge these acts by contemporary values. It is important to remember that the ideology, language and value system of the Stolen Generations time period was very different from today. In 1937, at the first ever meeting of the state's leaders in Aboriginal Affairs, a resolution passed that became known as the Destiny of the Race: "this conference believes that the destiny of the natives of aboriginal origin, but not of the full blood, lies in their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth and it therefore recommends that all efforts be directed to that end."⁶ The subsequent policies and practices were meant to fulfill this resolution.

Genocidal atrocities cannot be forgotten. Post-dated criticism is the only way to move forward. The claim of genocide is relatively new in the Australian context. Yet the UN's Genocide Convention is applicable after 1948 and was ratified by Australia in 1949. It came into force on January 12, 1951. This essay demonstrates that a case can be made that genocide occurred; it is not a persecution thereof because it was not a legal offense until after 1948. Regardless of the legal status before 1948, the international body politic always considered genocide a breach of human rights. The legality of actions taken before 1948 is often used as a front by the government to hide from the truth. Until Reconciliation is achieved, in a way that is acceptable to all involved, the criticism will continue, as will the denial.

Historical Context

Australian race relations can best be understood within a historical context. Australia, as a nation, has never been at peace. The Aboriginal people believe they are spiritually and physically tied to that land, and have been there since "time immemorial." On January 20, 1788, Captain Arthur Phillip and the convict-loaded First Fleet landed in Botany Bay, near modern day Sydney. The most detrimental occurrence in race relation history took place that day when Phillip declared the land "terra nullius" – Latin for "empty land." Because of conflicting definitions of ownership, the British declared that the land had no previous occupants and was therefore settled, rather than conquered.

From this time on an undeclared warfare raged. The Aboriginal population was decimated by diseases, such as smallpox, against which their immune system had no defense. Smallpox, in fact, killed nearly 50 percent of the Aboriginal population in the Sydney area.⁷ Frontier violence was the defining aspect of the 18th and 19th century forms of genocide. Aboriginals were shot for encroaching on British land, taking stock, or just out of fear. The violence was so extreme in some places, such as Tasmania, that the Aboriginal people there were nearly exterminated.

Concurrent with this period of frontier violence, the policies of protection/ segregation were put into force. This was supposed to protect the Aboriginal peoples from the

harmful effects of white settlement, but in practice only meant isolating Aboriginal peoples on missions and stations where the British could be unmolested. At the time of British arrival in 1788, the best estimates show that there were approximately 300,000 Aboriginal people in Australia. (Estimates range much higher, but 300,000 as an estimate has proven to be a happy medium with sound statistical backing.⁸) At Federation in 1901, the state censuses, although inherently flawed because of inconsistency and racism, estimate there were 40,000 Aboriginal people in Australia.⁹ The protectionism period is best described as a less advanced form of genocide.

As far back as 1814 New South Wales Governor Lachlan Macquarie had established a "Native Institution" at Parramatta and began forcibly removing children, placing them in this "Institution" in order to educate, teach them vocational skills and Christianize them.¹⁰

All Aboriginal policy and dealings took place on the state level. The policies, though individualized to each state or territory, held mostly true nationally. The 1905 Aborigines Act in Western Australia had made the Chief Protector the legal guardian of all Aboriginal peoples and all half-castes under the age of 16. In every mainland state except Victoria, the Chief Protector had the right to remove an Aboriginal child (of any inheritance) from its parents. In 1916 the New South Wales Aboriginal Protection Act was amended such that "The Board may assume full custody and control of the child of any aborigine... in the interest of the moral and physical welfare of the child."¹¹ In 1937, with the Canberra Conference on Aboriginal Welfare where state officials met to discuss Aboriginal policies, the party line moved from a policy of protection to one of assimilation.

It is interesting to note that Australia was hardly alone in its policy of removing children from their families in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The United States of America, for example, was removing Native American children from their families for reasons such as "neglect," or "social deprivation."¹² By 1951, assimilation was the official policy of every state and territory in Australia. In 1967, the Australian Constitution first became inclusive of Aboriginal people by referendum. At this point in time, the states switched their official policies from that of assimilation to "integration."

A disturbing trend has permeated the final decades of the twentieth century and continues today, however. A sort of historical amnesia exists that shows the pioneer legend in only the most positive light and ignores as much Aboriginal history as possible. This is beginning to reverse itself, but without acknowledgement of race relations in the past, there is no hope for the future.

Absorption

The ultimate disappearance of the Aboriginal race was to be realized in two ways: biological absorption and socio-cultural assimilation. The first was through attempted control of their birth and death rates along with genetically engineering their reproduction by state governments. This policy of absorption of the race falls under Article II,

parts (c) and (d) of the Genocide Convention, "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;" and "imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group." First, the native population was divided into those who could be saved according to the prevailing thought of the day – that is anyone with any proportion of white inheritance – and those who could not. It was commonly assumed that the full-blooded natives were a dying race because their culture was not civilized enough to survive in the face of British culture. By separating the dying race from those who would continue to carry the standard of Aboriginality if left alone and allowed to practice their culture, the governments used a multi-layered attack to eliminate Aboriginality. Dr. Cecil Cook, the Chief Protector of the Northern Territory from 1927 to 1938, made clear the first part of the plan – the full-blooded Aboriginal peoples would ultimately disappear – at the Canberra Conference on Aboriginal Welfare of 1937 by saying: "Were a policy of laissez faire followed, the aborigines would probably be extinct in Australia within 50 years."¹³

The most that could be done for these natives, according to prevailing thought, was to "smooth the pillow of a dying race," which in practice meant the creation of reserves of land where the natives could live unmolested in order to wait out the extinction of their race. This was not active pursuit of genocide on the part of the Australian governments; however, the practices that pre-date assimilation in regard to the natives were genocidal and reduced the number of remaining full-blooded people dramatically; this created the belief they were a dying race. Today it is accepted that the dramatic reduction in the numbers of Aboriginal peoples circa the first point of contact is a bi-product of history. It defies logic that a civilization that has survived for more than 50,000 years would cease to exist by natural means in the first century after contact with a foreign dispossessor.¹⁴

The early twentieth century was the zenith of racial and ethnic cleansing in Europe. Cook, Neville and J.W. Bleakley of Queensland, especially, were enthusiasts of the new science of eugenics. Couched in the institutionalized racism of the day, they created a hierarchy of Aboriginality. Half-caste children were the progeny of a full-blooded native and a white person (usually a white man and an Indigenous woman). As white inheritance continued to be intermingled with the Aboriginal, quadroons, people who were considered one-quarter Aboriginal and three-quarters white, and octoroons, people with one-eighth Aboriginal decendency, were classified. After the generation of octoroon, the children were considered to be white by legal standards. These men believed they could force a breeding program that would lead to the disappearance of all Aboriginal people. Neville introduced a three-point plan at the Canberra Conference. First, he argued, the full-blooded natives would die out; secondly the half-caste children were to be removed from their families; and finally, intermarriage was to be encouraged. "Are we going to have a population of 1,000,000 blacks in the Commonwealth, or are we going to merge them into our white community and eventually forget that there ever were any aborigines in Australia?"¹⁵ This clearly indicates the

intention of destroying the Indigenous people as a group, an important prerequisite to the claim of genocide.

European imperialism has long created problems for native peoples worldwide. As the vanguard pushed the frontier toward the center of Australia there were instances of sexual contact – rape, sexual assault and some meaningful relationships – which resulted in the birth of half-caste children. That these children were considered a problematic third race by the settlers is an example of the implicit racism of the day. In order to maintain the imperialistic hold over the native peoples, that is to say the degraded and inferior race, there could be no grey area. The University of Sydney scholar Robert von Krieken wrote:

“The target of these policies and practices was not simply Aboriginality itself, because that was more or less acceptable to European Australians in its traditional, ‘full-blood’ form, albeit quarantined in the desert regions of the continent. What was so problematic and dangerous was the hybridity [his emphasis] of the mixed-bloods, their threat to the boundaries between the civilized and the savage.”¹⁶

This was the fear that fueled the racism, which led to the policies and practices of genocide.

The need for racial purity in Australia was only half the battle. South Australia’s Chief Protector of Aboriginals Charles McLean expressed his belief at the Canberra Conference in 1937 that “Colour is lost fairly rapidly when there is a mixture of white blood with the aboriginal, but unfortunately racial characteristics and habits are not so easily laid aside.”¹⁷ The eugenics movement represented a conscious effort to bring every inhabitant of Australia not of pure European blood into the white fold. Using Mendelian genetics of crossbreeding, with the assumption that whiteness was the dominant trait or stronger gene, the aim of these policies was to rid Australia of people with dark skin. An article in the *Western Australian* in 1933 left no room to the imagination. “The application of Mendelianism is the only solution and that urges the mating of the half-caste with the quadroon and the octoroon, so that the confirmed infiltration of white blood will finally stamp out the black colour which, when all is said and done, is what we really object to.”¹⁸ Skin color is not equivalent to race, however; by mingling the blood of different ethnic groups, these chief protectors and other eugenicists believed they were eliminating a race. The disappearance of a “racial group” is clearly a form of genocide as enumerated by the UN Genocide Convention. It was publicly assumed that these Mendelian genetic crosses would work because, as Neville speculated, the Aboriginal natives derived from Caucasian blood lines, not a “Negroid” strain.¹⁹

Western Australia, the Northern Territory and Queensland’s Chief Protectors strictly monitored the marriage and sexual relations of those people considered half-caste or of less Aboriginal blood. “In the Territory the mating of an Aboriginal with any person

other than an Aboriginal is prohibited.... Every endeavour is being made to breed out the colour by elevating female half-castes to the white standard with a view to their absorption by mating into the white population.”²⁰ In 1936 the State Parliament of Western Australia went so far as to pass legislation that required Neville and any future Chief Protector of Aboriginals to grant permission for any half-caste person to marry. This same legislation gave Neville guardianship over all Aboriginal people under the age of twenty-one allowing him to remove them from their families and implement his plans for absorption and assimilation. Neville promoted miscegenation (intercourse between races) as means of “breeding” out Aboriginality. “It seems apparent with these people of European-Aboriginal origin that like breeds like – two half-bloods will produce children of similar blood and not of quarter-blood as many people think – and that therefore requires the admixture of further white blood to alter the ratio and produce a quadroon.”²¹ Neville was blatant in his drive to absorb people of part-Aboriginal descent into the white mainstream community with aims of destroying the biological group of the Indigenous peoples. His insensitivity was draconian:

...the children would be lighter than the mother, and if later they married whites and had children these would be lighter still, and that in the third or fourth generation no sign of native origin whatever would be apparent. Subject to this process a half-blood mother is unmistakable as to origin, her quarter-caste or quadroon offspring almost like a white, and an octoroon entirely indistinguishable from one. A quadroon child may become darker by the time adolescence is reached, but even then would pass as a Southern European.²²



Three Generations (Reading from Right to Left)

1. Half-blood – (Irish-Australian father, full-blood Aboriginal mother).
2. Quadroon Daughter – (Father Australian born of Scottish parents, Mother No. 1).
3. Octoroon Grandson – (Father Australian of Irish descent, Mother No. 2).

These theories, while not entirely genetically correct, were successful in bringing about a change in the appearance of those people who by rights could identify as Aboriginal.

The physical and biological absorption of the Indigenous peoples was only part of the genocide against the Stolen Generations. Rosemary Neill makes the argument that this segment – the pre-World War II policy of segregation and absorption – was genocide, but the assimilation policies that followed World War II were not genocidal and in fact constituted simply a “crude forerunner to equal opportunity.”²³ This argument is flawed because the biological absorption was actually of secondary importance to the policy makers whose intent was to assimilate Aboriginal children into white society thereby destroying their cultural unit in an act of quiet, less obtrusive genocide.

Another important matter to settle in the question of genocide is intent. The Convention declares that genocide can only be “committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.”²⁴ The language used in policies, Hansard (parliamentary and Canberra Conference transcripts) of proceedings and contemporary discourse on the matter of “breeding out the colour” could not have been more clear. The intent was to destroy the race as a whole. The crime need not be measured by its success. It was not until after World War II that genocide was defined and made punishable by international law. Making retroactive claims is difficult, but an important part of the Reconciliation process is the general acceptance that there were acts of genocide perpetrated against Aboriginal people simply because they were Aboriginal.

Assimilation

The second and more exact aspect of the attempt to eradicate the culture of the Indigenous peoples of Australia was through a program of assimilation into white culture to the end that no Australian would look, act, think, speak, believe or associate themselves with Aboriginality. This is the more popular claim to genocide under Article II (e) of the UN Genocide Convention, “forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.” Children were removed from their families and communities in the hope of breaking any ties to identity, religion, language, land and family. Inherent in a policy of assimilation is the assumption that the majority group is superior to the minority.

The most succinct definition of Indigenous culture is “the whole complex of relationships, knowledge, languages, social institutions, beliefs, values and ethical rules that bind a people together and give the collective and individual members a sense of who they are and where they belong. It is usually rooted in a particular place – a past or present homeland.”²⁵ The policy of assimilation in the twentieth century undertook to destroy each of these defining characteristics systematically as will be presented below.

The *Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* estimated that for

the years 1910 to 1970 between one in three and one in ten children were taken from their families. This is obviously a broad range and should be understood in the context of time and place (i.e. – more children were taken in Western Australia in the 1930s than were taken in New South Wales in the 1970s). These figures are highly contentious. Prominent historians and the current government have accepted one in ten as a reasonable figure. It has been estimated that as many as 200–400 per 1,000 Aboriginal children were removed from their communities each year between 1860 and 1960, juxtaposed with a figure of ten to twenty per 1,000 non-Aboriginal children.²⁶ While a numerical figure of children removed that is acceptable to all sides is unattainable, Peter Read’s estimate of approximately 100,000 children separated from their families is considered fair.²⁷ The Protectors’ gave reasons for taking these children that were often blatantly racist. For example, often on the committal notices under the heading “Reason for Board taking control of child” the station managers would write: “For being Aboriginal.”²⁸ There can be no doubt that these children were targeted because they were of Indigenous descent.

In his definition of genocide, Lemkin cites two phases in the course of committing genocide: one, the “destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group,” and two, the “imposition of the national patterns of the oppressor.”²⁹ The policy and practice of assimilation entailed mission life in order to break down the culture of Aboriginal children, most specifically in terms of identity, religion, language, land and family which are all highly interconnected in Aboriginal culture, and then forced white culture upon the children. Most importantly as scholars have pointed out, according to the UN definition, these acts need not be malicious to be considered genocide.

The [*Bringing Them Home*] Report argues that, in order to constitute an act of genocide, the planned extermination of a group ‘need not be solely motivated by animosity or hatred.’ ... This is important in rejecting the assertion that the allegations of genocide can be avoided simply by claiming that a particular course of action was felt to be ‘the right thing at the time.’³⁰

Destruction of a culture is a murderous action even when it is considered to be in the best interest of a group because it is the result of a majority group taking away a minority group’s self-determination.

The assimilation process was both highly destructive to the children who encountered it and highly effective as an underscored financial process. The governments never intended to fully incorporate these Aboriginal children. On the missions they were taught the skills necessary to become domestic help or field workers. Their best hope was to achieve the status of the lowest economically viable white citizens. The assimilation policy was ultimately one of economic rationalism; because the prevailing thought necessitated maintenance of reserves for the full-blooded Aboriginal people, the theory behind assimilation was that by creating economic self-sufficiency in the half-caste generation and beyond, it was believed that, the Aboriginal people would be less of a drain on resources.

In order to achieve these ends, however, the children first had to be broken down so they could be rebuilt in the manner of white children. At Sister Kate's Orphanage for Half-Caste Children in Perth, children were told that their parents did not want them repeatedly until children began to report hating these parents. Children were taught to be ashamed of the color of their skin through a constant barrage of missionary propaganda that insinuated that Aboriginal people were dirty and dangerous.³¹

Reports of physical, sexual and mental assault have been brought to light, and although there was evidence of the atrocities occurring at the time, no action was taken. Kinchela Boys Home in Kempsey, New South Wales was cautioned to improve conditions. Read reported on a reprimand the manager received: "After an enquiry in 1933, the manager of Kinchela was warned in a private letter on a number of counts. He must not be drunk on duty. He must no longer use a stock whip on the boys, nor tie them up. He was not to use dietary punishment."³² The *Bringing Them Home Report* stated that nineteen percent of the people who gave their testimony reported physical abuse within these institutions. Nearly ten percent of children reported sexual abuse on the missions and upward of thirty percent of females reported being sexually assaulted or raped in foster care.³³ This led to a long cycle of denial intended to cause the children to disown their cultural inheritance in hope of stopping the abuse.

Identity is an umbrella term meant to include both how a particular person defines himself and how the community around him defines him. It encompasses all the cultural characteristics below. Identity, however, lies at the crux of genocide because it was this cultural connection that the policies aimed to destroy. As part of the government's assault on Aboriginal identity, children were placed in religiously-affiliated missions. The children were made to pray multiple times a day to a God they did not know. More importantly, they lost contact with their own spirituality because of their isolation from their elders. Aboriginal spirituality "was our lifestyle, our morality, our law" and by cutting off the oral tradition that was passed from generation to generation, the Dreamtime spirituality stories were lost to these children and subsequent generations.³⁴

Oral languages are also only passed through the generations by contact with elders. Language held the key to spirituality, land and kinship. "It's our lifeblood. This is what we tell the young people. You have to know your language because you'll never be able to learn your Dreaming and if you don't know your Dreaming you can't identify where you belong. If you don't identify where you belong you may as well say you're dead."³⁵ There were nearly 250 languages, each with several dialects, at the initial point of contact with whites in 1788. A study done in 1993 showed that 160 were extinct, seventy in grave danger and only twenty likely to survive in the short term.³⁶ Children were not allowed to speak their "lingo" in the presence of white people on the missions for fear of corporal punishment or humiliation. Faced with the unnatural situation of learning English so they could communicate with the missionaries and indeed each other whilst not being allowed to practice their own languages with those who shared it, the latter faded in their memories. Language was intimately tied to the Dreamtime

spirituality and oral history the Indigenous people had practiced before the days of the missionaries. Loss of language meant loss of spirituality, which ultimately meant loss of land and identity.

In order to prevent children from simply walking off the missions and returning to their families, children were often relocated to homes and missions thousands of kilometers from their homelands. While the contemporary policy makers could not have foreseen the results of their actions, they effectively denied any claim that the Stolen Generations would later make under Native Title. Because those children could not necessarily establish a biological descent from the people who claim the land under traditional Indigenous law, and more importantly, because they had been removed they cannot prove continuing connection to that land, they have no claim under Native Title. This was not a consideration for the policy makers of the early twentieth century. However, this suffering by members of the Stolen Generations explicitly shows the on-going nature of the case for genocide.

Finally, the loss of kinship and family ties was the most egregious example of genocide perpetrated against the Aboriginal people. The critical misunderstanding between the two cultures was the importance of the extended family to the Indigenous culture. If a child had no parent around, to a white man's sensibilities that child was being neglected; to an Aboriginal community, there are plenty of aunties, uncles, cousins and other kin to care for that child. Child removal was justified due to a misplaced concern for the child's welfare. Although the welfare of a child provided the political reasoning for removing children, there were clearly defined ulterior motives. "I have no wish to break up families, but other aspects must be considered besides sentiment. We must go on weeding out the light-coloured children," Neville said.³⁷ One prerequisite for a claim of genocide is clear intention; Neville made no secret of his plans for the ultimate destruction of the race. Neville's plan anticipated that the "Aboriginal problem" would be solved within his lifetime. Today, a vicious cycle continues. Because so many Aboriginal children were raised without their parents to model after, they are having difficulty raising their own children. This resulted in the number of children removed rising exponentially after the official switch to integration.

Assimilation is a form of sophisticated genocide. Children are physically removed and then acculturated into a very different lifestyle than the one they rightfully inherit.

In order to take advantage of the opportunities in European society, Aboriginal people were expected to become Europeans. They were told that it was their fate. The question to be answered is whether or not the deliberate policy of forced assimilation could foreseeably have resulted in the destruction of the Aboriginal people as a group. The essence of the policy of assimilation, as it has been articulated in Australia, was the destruction of the pattern of Aboriginal life, and its replacement with the pattern of 'Australian' life.... As such it could be argued that official policy towards Aboriginal people, until at least the late 1960s, could have been genocidal in intent.³⁸

Success is not important to the claim of genocide. The crime was attempted, and it did have some success in assimilating part of the group in question. There was clear intent in the language of the policy and the policy makers. And the policies in practice succeeded, without a doubt, in partially destroying the identity, religion, language, land rights and family ties of the Aboriginal children who were taken from their families.

Arguments against the case for genocide

Genocide and the Stolen Generations represent one of modern day Australia's most politically and emotionally charged discourses. Regardless of the thousands of apologists marching every year on National Sorry Day (May 26), there are those who contend that no act of genocide was ever committed against the Aboriginal people. The "black armband" view of history; a term coined in 1993 by Geoffrey Blainey, a conservative historian, is supposedly "pretending to be anti-racist, [but] is intent on permanently dividing Australia on the basis of race."³⁹ And yet, not to be outdone in terminology, Justice Marcus Einfeld claimed "...if this is all a black armband view of history, as some have said, I for one wear it as a mark of sorrow and apology, and as a commitment to reconciliation. Rather a black armband than a white blindfold to shut out the truth."⁴⁰ This dichotomy is one of the most poignant in Australia today.

One argument is that assimilation was an inevitable historical bi-product of colonization. Even Neville recognized that settlement in the late eighteenth century was the root of the problem. "We are all newcomers to them, dispossessors, despoilers. Having given them all they needed physically, spiritually and educationally, then we might have been justified in looking after our own interest. That was the original intention, but it was not fulfilled."⁴¹

The Minister for the Territories in 1953, Paul Hasluck, also defended assimilation as a justified practice.

We recognize now that the noble savage can benefit from measures taken to improve his health and his nutrition, to teach him better cultivation, and to lead him in civilised ways of life. We know that culture is not static but that it either changes or it dies. We know that the idea of progress, once so easily derided, has the germ of truth in it. Assimilation does not mean the suppression of the aboriginal culture, but rather that, for generation after generation, cultural adjustment will take place. The native people will grow into the society in which, by force of history, they are bound to live.⁴²

Hasluck denied the destruction of a culture as such, but admitted that if the Aboriginal society would not conform, their culture would be killed off by government policy. The *Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody* inquiry in 1991 gave rise to the question of the Stolen Generations when it found that of the ninety-nine cases under investigation, forty-three of these Indigenous prisoners who had died in police custody either through brutality or suicide had been removed from their

families and institutionalized as children.⁴³ The Commission touched on the issue of genocide, but declared the intention to commit genocide was missing and the forcible removal of children was for the Aboriginal peoples' protection. "The crucial issue of intention raises difficulty because assimilationist policy is clearly undertaken, not for the purpose of exterminating a people, but for their preservation... such policies are ultimately benign in so far as they are intended to preserve the individual members and their descendents but as members of a different culture."⁴⁴ The government denies genocide, but openly admits to an act of ethnocide by denying the Aboriginal people the ability to live according to their own traditions. This amounts to a confession of an act of genocide.

One of the most powerful arguments that genocide did not occur is the testimony of children who enjoyed living on the missions and feel that the right thing was done for them. One example is Alec Ross, who grew up at the Alice Springs Telegraph Station.

I came from the hospital. I was very sick. That's why I was taken from my mother. They brought me here because they thought I'd have a better chance of getting better meals to get me back into health again.

I can understand why they took us away because my mother lived like [her people] did centuries earlier – her parents and their parents before them.... The thing is, I didn't mind that. I think they did the right thing at the time. I never had it bad, I can tell you that. I always loved where I lived and what I did. If I hadn't been taken away I'd never have enjoyed the life I live today. It was the best thing that ever happened to me.⁴⁵

Unfortunately, the evidence is heavily weighted against testimonies like Alec's.

Each of these arguments serves to create an ongoing, passionate discourse about genocide and the Stolen Generations that is at the forefront of Australian politics today. In sum total, however, they do not outweigh the evidence for the case of genocide in the last century.

Reconciliation

The issue of genocide and the Stolen Generations has not faded into obscurity where it may be examined in a detached manner. It is very much a living part of history.

The main issue for the Stolen Generations in Reconciliation today is that of apology. Written in 1997, recommendation 5a of the *Bringing Them Home Report* suggests: "That all Australian parliaments: 1) officially acknowledge the responsibility of their predecessors for the laws, policies and practices of forcible removal; and 2) negotiate with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission a form of words for official apologies to Indigenous individuals, families and communities...."⁴⁶ State parliaments, non-governmental organizations and individuals nationwide have adopted this suggestion. Current Prime Minister John Howard has extended his personal apology but

refuses to apologize for the federal government saying it opens the doors to multi-million dollar reparation claims. Reparations are part of the recommendation, but no trial case applying for compensation has successfully made it through court at this time. Legality aside, an apology from the federal government would allow many people to move on with their lives. Yet another school of thought says that an apology would be meaningless after waiting so long and would hinder progress as it would be a solution without practical ramifications.

Other recommendations by the Inquiry include recording testimony (1), a change in the primary and secondary school curricula (8a), implementation of the Genocide Convention with full domestic effect (10), the establishment of family tracing and reunion services such as Link-Up (30a and b), and the creation of national standards for the treatment of Indigenous children (44-54). Many of these 54 recommendations were specifically created with existing institutions in mind.

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission was one such organization. Created in 1990 in lieu of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, ATSIC gave Indigenous people a voice in the bureaucracy. Howard declared on April 15, 2004 that ATSIC would be disbanded and the programs for which it was responsible mainstreamed. Aboriginal leaders claim this has set Aboriginal affairs back thirty years, some even going so far as to say that the mainstreaming harkens back to the days of assimilation and genocide. At this time, that remains to be seen.

The state of child welfare today is precarious. Fears of accusations of racism and genocide are leaving too many children in dangerous situations.⁴⁷ However, when the Child Protection Services does become involved in the case of an Indigenous family, they will always take a representative from the local Aboriginal Child Care Agency. The Aboriginal Child Placement Principle has been law since 1987. It requires that the priority for placing a child begin with that child's extended family, then within that child's Indigenous community, then with a different Indigenous family and only as the final alternative with a non-Indigenous family.⁴⁸ This is meant to protect children from the assimilation process and has been successful in many cases.

Reconciliation as a whole is also divisive within the Indigenous community. Treaty, land rights (as distinct from Native Title, which is a national piece of legislation that maintains mining and pastoral leases bestowed without consent from the Aboriginal peoples, but compensates these Aboriginal people for the loss of that land retrospectively, however, this legislation was rendered practically useless by amendments passed by Howard's government), apology and self-determination all emerge equally as the perceived necessary first step and the result is that not much has been accomplished. Other leaders in the community say reconciliation is a façade. Wayne Atkinson, a professor of political science and history at the University of Melbourne and a Yorta Yorta clan member, is one such man. "Reconciliation is not on the Indigenous agenda. Most of us have been involved in trying to reconcile the black and white relations on a day-to-day basis and we have been very successful. It was a government agenda used to distract us from the issues. It is a smokescreen."⁴⁹

Unfortunately, official government apology is a major political tool used by the leading political parties. Prior to the *Bringing Them Home Report* and recommendations, former Prime Minister Paul Keating of the Labor Party gave a speech to launch the International Year of the World's Indigenous People at Redfern Park in Sydney on December 10, 1992. In it he paved the road for an apology.

It begins, I think, with an act of recognition. Recognition that it was we who did the dispossessing. We took the traditional lands and smashed the traditional way of life. We brought the disasters. The alcohol. We committed the murders. We took the children from their mothers. We practiced discrimination and exclusion...we failed to make the most basic human response and enter into their hearts and minds. We failed to ask – how would I feel if this were done to me?⁵⁰

The issue of an apology remains a political seesaw.

More than anything, Indigenous people want to rise beyond the Stolen Generations. Dodson wrote in an editorial published in *The Age* on December 18, 1997:

If there is a lesson to be learned from our families being broken apart, it is about love, understanding, seeking and giving forgiveness. These are values that could make an Australian family of all our people within this country. Many know this. The Commonwealth Government's failure to understand has resulted in a failure at the heart of its response. In consequence, we are all the poorer.⁵¹

Conclusion

The claim that the Stolen Generations and the forcible removal of Indigenous children is genocide is a study in legal nuance. The United Nations Genocide Convention is worded vaguely enough to be at once open-ended and simultaneously useless. The most controversial phrase, "with intent to destroy," is the crux of any argument of genocide. It is clear, however, that the Australian governments violated Article II, clauses (b), (c), (d) and (e) and Article III. The historical records of legislation, Hansard, missions and memoirs leave no room for doubt. The understated methodology used in this genocide without murder is what makes the claim seem uncertain or exaggerated. Genocide need not be the mass murder of a group of people. The assimilation of a cultural group by annihilating their language, religion, land associations, family ties and most importantly their identity as Indigenous people cannot be justified on any grounds and is outright massacre.

The current black armband view of history is misguided. In order to move forward, a nation must often look back and learn from their collective past experiences. A nation's history is all that prevents it from repeating its mistakes. There is fear that another Stolen Generation is growing as the children of the original Stolen Generation run into trouble with the law and become involved in the juvenile justice system because

they live in poverty and have poor health, and because their parents were denied the parenting skills that children develop by observing their own family.

The Stolen Generation and the act of their forcible removal from their families and Indigenous communities was an act of genocide in the twentieth century. The cycle can be broken, however, if Australia as a nation comes together to prevent it from happening again.

“We have walked. We have talked. And despite walking and talking – it’s still done in circles – and remains what we commonly refer to as unfinished business.”⁵²

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Endnotes

- ¹ The Victorian Stolen Generations Taskforce uses the term ‘Stolen Generations’ to refer to “any adult Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person separated at a young age from community, family, language, land or culture, as well as the families of that separated child.” The Taskforce estimated that three or four generations of Aboriginal children were removed in the twentieth century. This resulted in a final tally of between one in three and one in ten Indigenous children removed between 1910 and 1970 depending on their region.
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- ³ Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994), 79.
- ⁴ United Nations General Assembly, *UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (Geneva: United Nations Resolution 260 (III) A, December 9, 1948), Article 2.
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Iraq: The Challenge of Nonstate Actors

BY FAAISA RASHID

Introduction

There are few regions in the world that can parallel the history of Iraq. Often referred to as the cradle of civilization, Iraq is the place of compilation of the Babylonian Talmud that defines traditional Judaism, the homeland of Abraham in the Bible, and the capital of the Islamic civilization from 8th—13th century under the Abbasid caliphs. (Ostling) With such rich history come legacies for Iraq that date back to the pre-state-centric international system.

In this paper, I investigate Iraq's age old Shi'a, Sunni, and Kurd conflict and study the impact of foreign intervention on the competition for political representation amongst these three sects. I define foreign intervention as military involvement followed by interference in domestic affairs. My hypothesis is that foreign intervention exacerbates sectarian conflicts in Iraq because it brings political power to a contestable domain. I define sectarian conflict as disagreement with the current political representation and visualization of a political future as separate from the rest of the 'nation' of Iraq. The empirical indicators I use to measure exacerbation of Shi'a, Sunni, Kurd conflict include emergence of separate sectarian political parties and rebellions against the existing political order. Furthermore, I argue that the sectarian uprisings eventually die off as a repressive regime assumes control and coercively suppresses sectarian rebellions.

First, this paper discusses the significance of the Shi'a, Sunni, and Kurd conflict in Iraq. It then illustrates the history of conflict by explaining the emergence and internal logic of Shi'is, Sunnis and Kurds. It also examines the creation of Iraq in the back drop of post World War I British interests in the region, and relates it to Iraq's sectarian tensions. It then illustrates two cases of foreign intervention in Iraq—the British intervention in 1941 and the US led intervention in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. For both the interventions there is a life cycle that begins with a military combat and is followed by an exacerbation of sectarian conflict. Sectarian conflict is ensued by the emergence of a repressive regime. The statistical details of the life cycle vary through the two interventions; nevertheless, there exists a pattern. I also find that the conflicts between the sects are never strictly religious, but rather a blend of religious and political struggle. In the conclusion, I discuss the implications of my findings. Furthermore, I

embed the value of my research in the current dynamics of the world. Additionally, I identify weaknesses in the methodology of collection of the empirical data used for evidence and provide a critique of my own argument. In the end, I propose alternate methods of research on this topic.

Iraq's Sectarian Conflict: Does it really matter?

The Shi'a, Sunni, and Kurd issue is immensely significant for at least four reasons. First, it has caused political instability within Iraq, where the conflict amongst the three factions has marred Iraq's political history with coups, regime overthrows, and bloody suppression of insurgencies. Second, the conflict holds transnational importance as it poses a challenge to the sovereignty of not only Iraq, but also to the sovereignty of neighboring states. The Iraq-Iran war, which was based on a border dispute, and lasted eight years (1980—1988) is an example of one such challenge to the sovereignty of the states in the region. Furthermore, with the Kurds in Iraq turning towards their fellow Kurds in Syria and Turkey and aspiring for an independent Kurdistan, and the Shi'is inclining towards Iran, threat to the existing territorial boundaries of the region still looms high. (Menon)

Third, with oil reserves of 120 billion to 200 billion barrels (11 percent of world's proven reserves); Iraq ranks second only to Saudi Arabia in the world's largest oil reserves. The cost of extraction of Iraq's oil reserve is comparatively lower to other countries because about 40 percent of the reserves lie only 600 meters beneath earth's surface. (Ward) Hence, due to Iraq's position as a leading oil exporter, sectarian conflict within Iraq has always captured the attention of great powers, for example the involvement of Britain post World War I, and involvement of the USA and the USSR during the Iraq—Iran war.

Fourth, the Shi'a, Sunni, Kurd matter is a human rights issue. Through out time countless innocent people have been tortured and persecuted on grounds of sect. According to the official Iraqi documents about 5 million (both Shi'is and Kurds) were executed during the Ba'ath regime. Additionally more than 10 million were imprisoned and tortured. (Mahdi)

Conflict: Origin and History

Iraq's Shi'a, Sunni, Kurd issue is not recent. In fact it dates back many centuries. Even the creation of Iraq needs to be understood not through the lens of self-determination of the Shi'is, Sunnis and Kurds, but in the context of British interests. (Mc Whirter) With this outlook it is somewhat more comprehensible to grasp the tensions amongst sects that exist today.

SHI'IS

Both Shi'a and Sunni Muslims share the same belief in one God, the belief that the Quran is from God, and that Muhammad was the last messenger from God. Shi'is differ from Sunnis mainly because of their belief in the institution of Imamate. Un-

like Sunnis, who view Imams as prayer leaders only, Shi'is consider Imams as leaders of the Muslim community, law and authority. The Imams have religious wisdom and *walayah* (spiritual guidance) to rightfully interpret the Quran and the *sharia* (code of law derived from the Quran) and the Sunna (the teachings and practices of Muhammad). Shi'is believe only the Imams are infallible and therefore chosen by God to lead Muslims. ("The Columbian Encyclopedia")

The word *Shi'a* means 'party' and refers to *Shi'atu Ali* or Party of Ali. The Shi'a sect originated after a dispute regarding the succession of Muhammad after his death in 632 AD. Shi'a Muslims argued that legitimate succession lied in the lineage of Muhammad, and hence Ali, cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, was the rightful heir to the *caliphate* (caliph—short form of vicegerent of the messenger of God and the commander of the faithful—is a representative of God on earth and a civil and religious leader of the Muslims). Shi'is see the appointment of the three caliphs (Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman) preceding Ali as a conspiracy and a grave mistake. Traditionally Shi'is deem Ali—the fourth caliph to succeed Muhammad—and his eleven descendants, beginning with his sons Hasan and Hussein, as the Imams of Islam. Additionally, they believe that the twelfth Imam ascended to heavens in a supernatural form and will return to earth on the Day of Judgment as *Mahdi* or Messiah. ("The Columbian Encyclopedia")

Ali assumed caliphate in 656 AD after the assassination of the third caliph—Uthman. During his caliphate, Uthman had bestowed governorships of the important states to his kinsmen to strengthen the Muslim empire. Upon attaining caliphate, Ali dismissed these governors and subsequently experienced their rebellion. Most notable of these rebellions was that of Muawwiya (cousin of Uthman and governor of Syria), who waged wars against Ali in the name of vengeance for Uthman's blood. Those that fought alongside Ali in these wars later identified themselves as Shi'is. ("The Columbian Encyclopedia")

The emergence and consolidation of the Shi'is accelerated after the assassination of Ali in 661 AD by the Kharjites (originally supporters of Shi'is, who later accused Ali to have betrayed his God-given legacy for not waging war against Abu Bakr when he became the first caliph of Islam). The martyrdom of Hussein by the son of Muawwiya in Karbala in 680AD further united the Shi'is, who still mourn the event as inspiration to rise against oppression.

Ali is the only Shi'i Imam to have assumed leadership of Muslims. Throughout history, the Sunni rulers have been wary of the institution of Imamate and Shi'is have experienced persecution and oppression during the Umayyad dynasty (661—750AD), Abbasid dynasty (758—1258AD) and the Wahhabi movement (since the 18th century). ("The Columbian Encyclopedia")

Besides persecution, Shi'is have also experienced hindrances in freely practicing their faith. For example a prominent Shi'a practice is pilgrimage to the tombs of their twelve Imams. Six of the twelve Imams' (first, third, seventh, ninth, tenth, and twelfth) tombs are in Iraq. Furthermore, Najaf, Karbala, Kazimayn, and Samarra—the four most

sacred Shi'i shrine cities—are in Iraq. (Gray) Before the Iraq Iran War (1980—1988), during which Iranians aimed to recover the holy cities from Iraq, thousands of Shi'a pilgrims used to come to Iraq during Shi's holy month of Muharram in the Islamic calendar. Under Saddam Hussein's regime Shi's were restrained from freely practicing many of their rituals. ("The Columbian Encyclopedia")

Today, Shi's comprise ten to fifteen percent of world's Muslim population. And according to the World Factbook, Shi's form the majority of total population in Iran (89 percent), Bahrain (70 percent), and Iraq (58—63 percent). Hence, the Shi'a issues in Iraq transcend to neighboring states of Iran and Bahrain. ("The World Factbook")

SUNNIS

Before the death of Muhammad (632 AD) all Muslims were Sunnis. The word Sunni derives from Sunnah which means the practice and conduct of Muhammad. Sunnis also attach the meaning of "a middle path" to the word Sunni implying the more moderate position of Sunnis between the extremes of Shi's and Kharjites. (Pike)

A majority of Sunnis consider Shi's as Muslims, except for the three Sunni schools of thought in South Asia—the Berailvi, the Deobandi and the Wahhabi—that consider Shi's to be apostates from Islam. Sunnis hold Ali in high esteem, but unlike Shi's do not see the necessity of lineage of Muhammad for legitimate leadership of Muslims. According to Sunnis, the only criterion for legitimate authority is capable leadership skills, obedience to Islam and consent of the majority. Hence, the Sunni sphere of governance is not in the hands of religious leaders only. During the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties and later on in the Ottoman Empire, it was the absence of clerical hierarchies and centralized institutions that provided greater adaptability to local conditions while expanding into non-Muslim territories. (Pike)

To better understand the current Shi'a Sunni relations within Iraq and also between Iraq and Iran it is essential to trace back the conflict between the Safavid Empire (1501—1732) based in Iran and the Ottoman Turks. The Safavids, with their militant theology to spread Shi'ism through the force of arms and claim to descent from Shi'a Islam's Seventh Imam, were the first to declare Shi'a Islam as their official religion. Due to the presence of the Shi'a holy cities, such as Karbala and Najaf, the Safavids aspired to attain control of Iraq. On the other hand, the Ottomans wanted Iraq for two reasons—first Iraq held great symbolic value for Muslims all over the world because it had been the capital of the Islamic civilization for five centuries under the Abbasids, and second, the Ottomans wanted to maintain Iraq under Sunni control to provide a bulwark against the spread of Shi'a Islam to Asia Minor. The result was a prolonged conflict between the Safavids and Ottomans that widened the Shi'a—Sunni gulf. The wars were marked by brief periods of control by each side during which the opposite faction was suppressed and persecuted. ("Country Study...")

With the decline of the Safavids in early 18th century due to economic problems, political corruption and uprisings due to the coercive conversion of Sunni Muslims to Shi'ism, the Ottomans gained control of Iraq. Under the Ottomans, Sunnis flourished

and gained administrative and political privileges. This resulted in the Shi'a—Sunni class cleavage. The landowner and business class comprised mainly of Sunnis and the Shi's increasingly constituted the poor working class. ("Country Study...")

It was not until the weakening of the Ottoman Empire coupled with the intervention of the Western powers—primarily Britain—that the ideology of nationalism spread and the Shi's and Kurds began to demand proper political representation in Iraq. However, after centuries of Ottoman rule, Iraq was not ready for a nation-state and after its independence in 1932, the country struggled to remain free of political instability in a backdrop of three competitors for political power—Shi's, Sunnis and Kurds. ("Country Study...") It is noteworthy to recognize that the British intervention parallels very closely to the US intervention today that aims to spread the institution of democracy in the region.

The Shi'a-Sunni conflict over political power that intensified during the Ottoman-Safavid wars has transcended across decades and is extremely significant in the current state centric international system as it holds implications not only for the state of Iraq but also for neighboring states. (Menon)

KURDS

Often overshadowed by the Shi'a—Sunni conflict, the third largest ethnic group in the Middle East after the Arabs and the Turks are the nation of stateless people, the Kurds. Kurds were traditionally nomadic herders of Indo-European origin that inhabited the plateau and mountain area in south west Asia—including parts of east Turkey, northeast Iraq, and northwest Iran—before 3100 BC and through 1000 BC. After World War I, Kurds have been divided amongst Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Today, about half of the world's Kurdish population lives in Turkey. Additionally, Kurds account for about 15-20 percent of Iraq's population living mostly in Dahuk (Dohuk), Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk, and Sulaimaniyah. ("The Columbian Encyclopedia")

After being conquered by the Arabs in seventh century, the Kurds converted to Islam and despite being ethnically closest to Iranians, majority of the Kurds are Sunni Muslims. Some Kurds are *Yazidis* (inhabiting mostly Mosul, Iraq) that believe the devil rules the world. Yazidis are despised and referred to as 'devil worshippers' by both Sunni and Shi'a Muslims. ("The Columbian Encyclopedia") Moreover, Kurds have a long history of foreign occupation. They were ruled by Seljuk Turks in the 11th century, by Mongols from 13th—15th century, by the Safavid Empire in the 16th century and by the Ottoman Empire from 17th—early 20th century. ("Country Study...") Under the Ottomans (especially between 1915—1918), Kurds (in particular journalists, intellectuals and human rights activists) were massively persecuted, and coerced to assimilate within Turkey through banning of Kurdish language and resettlement of Kurds in non-Kurdish areas of Turkey. (Vosbigian) Hence, after the defeat of Ottomans in World War I, Kurds demanded independence in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. In 1920 under the Treaty of Sèvres, Kurds were promised an independent Kurdish state. However, after the ascension of Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later known as Atatürk)

in Turkey, Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923, which excluded the formation of an independent Kurdish state. Any revolts by Kurds were coercively suppressed. ("Country Study...")

Kurds even today hope for an autonomous state and these hopes become overt with change of regime in the region, as in 1958 when the Ba'athist government replaced the Iraqi monarchy. (Bruner) Unfortunately, the Kurds have only seen broken promises of independence thus far.

Iraq: Nation-State?

To better understand the sectarian conflicts that have marked the history of present day Iraq, it is essential to recognize that the boundaries of Iraq were carved out not by the nation of Iraq, but by the British Empire. (Mc Whirter) Iraq was created after the defeat of the Ottomans in the First World War and the subsequent liquidation of the Ottoman Empire.

Before World War I, British influence in the Ottoman provinces of Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul was mainly limited to economic activities. However, with the emergence of Russia and Germany as a challenge to British influence in Mesopotamia, Britain invaded the region at the outbreak of World War I to secure land route to India. After significant effort, Britain seized control of Mesopotamia. (Haj, p. 27) When World War I ended, the League of Nations allocated mandates for control of Middle Eastern territories to Britain and France. Under the mandate, Britain demarcated boundaries based on British interests, which included political and economic control of the region. (Eisenstadt and Mathewson, p. 82)

The people of Iraq did not accept Britain as a legitimate authority and as a result rebellions arose through out the region. To counter the extreme resistance from all factions in Iraq, the British granted the Iraq's high class Sunnis power in return of submission and cooperation. Furthermore, much to the opposition of Shi'is and Kurds, the British stroke an agreement with the non-Iraqi, but Muslim Faisal I who was a member of Arabian Peninsula's Sunni royal family. (Mc Whirter) Under the agreement he would be appointed King of Iraq as long as Britain retained mandate of the region. Faisal I was crowned king under a constitutional monarchy, which was superficially democratic, but inherently under British control. During the monarchy of Faisal I, Britain developed military bases, corporations (in particular oil corporations), and a privileged trading status in Iraq. (Mc Whirter) Britain also continued to control Iraq's political and economic matters. Once a pro-British government was firmly established in Iraq, the British mandate was no longer needed and Iraq was granted 'independence' in 1932. (Mc Whirter) However, even after independence Britain continued to exert influence on Iraq and meddle heavily in its affairs. The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 retained British involvement in Mosul and Kirkuk oilfields and maintained British air bases near Baghdad and Basra. Furthermore, Britain still held the right to maneuver troops through Iraq. This infringement on Iraq's sovereignty gave rise to three major nationalist oppositional groups—the Nationalist Democrats, the Ba'ath, and the Iraqi communists. (p. 82, Haj)

It is important to view the prolonged political unrest and sectarian struggle in Iraq by keeping in perspective the aforementioned historical background of the creation of Iraq and its subsequent independence. Moreover, we must ask the question: Is Iraq really a nation state?

Foreign Intervention

In this section I will examine two cases of foreign intervention in Iraq—the British intervention in 1941 and the US led coalition against Iraq in 1990-1991 Persian Gulf War. Each intervention exhibits a life cycle. The first stage of this cycle comprises of military struggle between Iraqi and foreign troops. The second stage begins with termination of military action between the two sides. During this stage, a regime lacking legitimate authority attempts to enforce its power. Absence of legitimate authority initiates the third stage of the cycle, which is marked by exacerbation of the Shi'a, Sunni, and Kurd conflict, as each sect struggles to assert its political space.

In the first case study, the life cycle of British intervention ended with the overthrow of the repressive monarchy in 1958. In the second case study the life cycle ends with a Saddam Hussein's repressive regime regaining power. Both regimes faced intense rebellions and were overthrown subsequently.

1941—1958: Britain Intervention in Iraq

After 1939, the political space of Iraq entered a phase of conspiracies, coups, counter coups and rebellions. King Faisal I died in 1933, and was succeeded by his son Ghazi. However, King Ghazi died in a mysterious automobile accident in 1939. Because Ghazi's son was only three years old at the time, Prince Abd al-Ilah was appointed as a regent. It was in this context that the 1941 anti-British military coup occurred and brought the pro-Axis Rashid Ali in power. With the twin support of Germans and the Vichy French government in Syria, Prime Minister Rashid Ali besieged the British air base of Habbaniya—a clear abrogation of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930. Owing to the threat of losing other military bases and control of oil reserves, Britain invaded Iraq in 1941. Britain justified the invasion by accusing Rashid Ali of violating the terms of Anglo-Iraqi treaty. This was the beginning of the first stage of the life cycle of foreign intervention—military combat between British and Iraqi troops. (Mills)

The first stage of foreign intervention was relatively short as Britain defeated the technologically backward Iraqi forces with ease. The Germans that were preoccupied with campaigns in Crete never sent aid to the Iraqi troops that was simultaneously adequate and timely. (Mills) Following Iraq's defeat, Britain forcefully re-imposed Prince Abd al Ilah as regent of Iraq. Thus began the second stage of the foreign intervention cycle. The re-imposition of monarchy lacked legitimacy and instigated grave resentment against the British and the monarchy. The successive governments of Nuri as Said (1941-44) and Hamdi al Pachachi (1944-46) were also pro-British and lacked proper authority. (Mills) It was in this authority vacuum that the Shi'is, Sunnis and Kurds began to assert their political space. This marked the beginning of the third stage of

the cycle of intervention where sectarian conflict exacerbates through the emergence of separate political parties.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the British pulled out of Iraq and the sectarian conflict assumed a much more distinct political cleavage. The Sunnis joined the Ba'ath party, which was a blend of Arab nationalism and socialist values. (Mills) The Shi'is increasingly joined the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP). Yitzhak Nakash explains the Iraqi Communist Party in the following words:

Indeed, the massive adherence of young Shi'is to the ICP did not reflect so much their propensity to communism, as it did their search for political participation and social influence, and their attempt to bring about a new political order in Iraq. The appeal of communism to the Shi'is was closely related to the failure of Pan Arabism to act as a unifying framework in Iraq. (Nakash, p.133)

Nakash's explanation of the ICP supports my argument of exacerbation of sectarian conflict since I define sectarian conflict as disagreement with the current political representation and visualization of a political future as separate from the rest of the 'nation' of Iraq.

Meanwhile, inspired by the Kurdish Democratic Party in Iran, the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq was formed in 1945. The Kurdish Democratic Party demanded self rule of Kurds within Iraq, but in the 1950s began to assert the need for joint Kurdish cooperation across boundaries. Hence, in 1953 the name of the party changed to the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iraq (Ghareeb, p.35).

The three political parties struggled to assert a dominant political space. And in 1958 the monarchy was overthrown through the ICP assisted military coup in the back drop of growing antagonism against the pro-British monarchy. This marked the end of British intervention in Iraq. The royal family was executed and Brigadier Abdel Karim Kassem took control of Iraq. (Mc Whirter)

US led Intervention in Iraq: The Second Persian Gulf War—1991

Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990. There are three causes that are usually identified for this invasion. First, since Iraq's inception, it has laid claims on Kuwait. The validity of Iraq's claim is beyond the scope of my paper. Second, Kuwait holds economic value due to its high quality oil resources. And third, in the aftermath of the Iraq—Iran war (1980—1988), Iraq owed huge debts to Middle Eastern countries including Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. (Menon)

US along with other members of the United Nations demanded withdrawal of Iraqi forces. However, after Iraq's failure to comply, on January 16, 1991, US led allied forces (that included troops from other UN member states) invaded Iraq and her occupation in Kuwait. This marked the first stage of the foreign intervention life cycle. Iraqi forces were defeated with relative ease and on February 27th 1991 a ceasefire was ordered by President Bush. (Menon) This was the beginning of the second stage of the foreign intervention life cycle.

After termination of military combat, began the third stage of the 1991 foreign intervention—sectarian conflict emerged with both Shi'a and Kurd insurgencies. The Shi'a insurgency was engineered by the Tehran based insurgent leadership group—the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI). The SCIRI delivered several thousand soldiers from Iran to support the Shi'a uprising in Iraq. The SCIRI aimed to take advantage of the authority vacuum in Iraq created by the Gulf War. It further aimed to gain support of the population and army of Iraq to bring about an armed revolt. (Cline)

The major uprising began in Basra in March 1991 and rapidly diffused to other towns. Within a few days the insurgents established control of over twelve towns in southern Iraq. Saddam Hussein sent Republican Guard units to suppress the Shi'a uprisings. Insurgents were arrested or brutally killed and eventually all the insurgent held towns were retaken by Saddam's regime. Since the terms of the cease fire had established "no-fly zones" in northern and southern Iraq, use of airplanes to suppress the Shi'a insurgents was prohibited. Hence, the Iraqi officials used helicopters. As the Shi'a uprising was suppressed in the south it emerged in the Kurdish north. Both the Shi'is and the Ba'ath party officials committed brutal atrocities to undermine the other. The Shi'is indiscriminately killed Ba'ath officials and their families and relatives. The government forces retaliated with equal if not greater coercion. Insurgents were arrested, tortured and massively persecuted. (Cline) The statistical figures on the insurgents considerably differ. It has been reported that around Karbala there were 50,000 insurgents. (Khadduri and Ghareeb, p. 194) The statistical records on fatalities don't fall in agreement either. It has been estimated that 50,000 to 60,000 had been killed. (Cline)

This uprising was a significant indicator of the Shi'a envisioning their identity as separate from other sects in Iraq. The Shi'is strictly demanded isolated Shi'a rule. In fact the driving slogan of the uprising was "Jafari (Shi'a) Rule." The uprising also indicates the Iraqi Shi'is ties with the Shi'is of Iran. (Cline)

In late March 1991, the Kurds began to assert their political space in Iraq by rebellion. It is reported that the CIA engineered the rebellion. However, after the onset of insurgencies, the Kurds were not provided the support they had been promised by the U.N. coalition forces. Government troops brutally suppressed the rebellion by massacring thousands of Kurds. This created a huge exodus of Kurds to neighboring states and it is estimated that one to two million Kurds migrated Turkey and Iran. (Iraq: History) The U.N. coalition forces eventually declared a "no fly zone" in northern Iraq for the protection of the Kurds remaining in the region. The Kurds gained control of a 15,000-square-mile autonomous region in northern Iraq populated by 3 million Kurds. (Bruner) The Kurdish uprising of 1991 signifies the Kurdish vision for autonomy in Iraq. This uprising also shows the Kurdish political and national identity as separate from other sects in Iraq.

Conclusion

The two case studies reveal a life cycle for both interventions where there is military combat followed by an exacerbation of sectarian conflict, which is further ensued by the emergence of a repressive regime. It is important to recognize that in the two case studies the conflicts between the three sects are never strictly religious or ethnic. In fact, the conflict is primarily over lack of political representation, which is often globally misperceived as also a conflict of sectarian and religious hatred. It is the political nature of the sectarian conflict that justifies its augmentation after foreign intervention. Foreign interventions create authority vacuums which allow different sects to assert their political space in Iraq.

One could argue that sectarian exacerbation does not occur due to foreign intervention solely because foreign intervention simply makes the empirical indicators for sectarian conflicts more easily available for data collection. Is it reasonable to assume that a repressive leader like Saddam Hussein would actually rally on sectarian dissent that would foment further sectarian conflicts? An alternate method of falsifying, or proving, the null hypothesis would be to conduct ethnographic onsite research. A challenge with ethnographic onsite research will be the necessity to conduct it over several foreign interventions. Maybe a practical alternate is collaboration of academic research and on-field journalists in Iraq.

So what does the foreign intervention life cycle imply? The life cycle predicts that sectarian conflicts subside as a regime asserts its rule. Bearing in mind the impact of the Shi'a association with Iran and the Kurds demand for Kurdistan, such a life cycle predicts sustenance of the current boundaries of Iraq. It further questions the validity and effectiveness of the current US intervention in Iraq. If military involvement is known to destabilize the politics of the region, then is spread of education in the masses and development of the country a better way to build democracy in Iraq?

Furthermore, important questions arise if the implications of my research are embedded in the fast-changing world dynamics due to globalization. How many times will the cycles of foreign intervention, followed by sectarian conflicts and repressive regimes repeat themselves in Iraq? Will the Shi'is and Kurds challenge the British carved boundaries of Iraq and change the current map of the world? Will the Kurds eventually get their claimed homeland, Kurdistan, as promised in 1920 in the Treaty of Sevres? What are the implications of the spread of democracy in the region, keeping in mind the Shi'a beliefs on the rights of political representation of Muslims? How will the definition of democracy have to be re-defined if Shi'is assume power in Iraq, and do foreigners recognize this dilemma?

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Disney's Pirates as Anti-Piracy: Promoting Family Values and Morals Through an Unlikely Group of Villains and Knaves

BY WENDY DEACON

When we think of pirates, we tend to imagine a group of unruly men plundering and looting seaports and towns, leaving destruction and death in their wake. Such is the reality of piracy: pirates were motivated by greed, lust, and a desire for freedom from conventional society and order. It is with surprise, then, that we find pirates as a focal point in the films and works of a company that is primarily concerned with instilling family values and maintaining innocence in an increasingly corrupt society. The Disney Company, through modifications of classic stories and alterations of history, has managed to portray pirates in opposition to traditional piracy. These portrayals undergo a process of "Disneyfication," which is "the application of simplified aesthetic, intellectual, or moral standards to a thing that has the potential for more complex or thought-provoking expression" (Shortsleeve 1). However, Disney's pirates are not merely simplified. They are altered to fit a particular mold so that much of the historical truth of piracy is lost in the end result. Disney is able to get away with such a "Disneyfication" of history because our society desires it. Historical pirates—lawless men driven by greed and self-interest—were outside of society and opposed to our values. Rather than accept their marginality as historical fact, we desire instead to overlook the debauchery in their acts and find a way to connect them with one of our most important values: the family. In so doing, we are pulling them into our conventional structures of society and disregarding the qualities that set them apart as objectionable outcasts. Disney's most recent portrayals of pirates exhibit strong connections to the family, which, I argue, is what makes them acceptable to our society. However, if we look at earlier depictions of pirates in Disney, we cannot find such explicit connections to the family. Why would portrayals of piracy be more problematic today than fifty years ago? Has our society become so much more conservative or concerned with family values that such "Disneyfication" of history is required—or, conversely, have we become non-conservative to the extent that Disney is altering history in order to reaffirm traditional morals and values that have recently been in decline? Since the 1950s, when Disney first used pirates in films, we have become less conservative and likewise less concerned with values that were inherent in our society at that time. Disney's portrayals of pirates exhibit a change over time that emphasizes

a growing need for the pirate, an individual normally associated with rebelliousness and immorality, to be connected with conventional family ties in order to encourage a return to traditional family values and morality.

In 1953, Disney's animated film *Peter Pan* was well received by an enthusiastic American audience. The film takes a considerable departure from the original novel by James M. Barrie, but it is perhaps because of the changes Disney made to the story that the film was so widely accepted. These changes made the story more family-friendly and suitable for all ages. Especially important is the alteration of the pirate villain, Captain Hook. In a review of this and other versions of *Peter Pan*, C.W. Nevius comments on the "Disneyfication" of the story, particularly with Hook: "Captain Hook may be a preening buffoon in the Disney cartoon, but the first time we meet him in the book one of his pirates accidentally stumbles into him and Hook guts and kills him." Instead of a dark, violent villain, Disney provides us with one who is merely threatening. Hook is more comical and cowardly than he is frightening. His characteristics and his motivation throughout the story—to defeat Peter Pan, a young boy capable of stripping Hook of his dignity—remove him from the reality of historical piracy and make him acceptable to a society that is reluctant to acknowledge such history. We do see a few glimpses of "real" piracy with Hook—his ship, the Jolly Roger, and his crew. But we are never given a depiction of Hook as a true pirate. He is removed from motivations and principles that we would associate with piracy: plundering, looting, and the desire for freedom from a land or nation-state.

The typical viewer might have trouble discerning any connection of the pirates in *Peter Pan* with the family. An assumption that there is no correlation would almost be correct, as Hook and his crew are outwardly detached from any conventional familialities. However, a significant parallel can be made between Hook and Wendy's father. Historically, both characters have been portrayed by the same actor. Disney maintains this tradition in the film as one actor provides the voice for both Hook and Mr. Darling. Here we find Hook's connection to the family as a father figure in Neverland. Both Hook and Mr. Darling are threatening paternal figures and their menace is directed at the same issue: childhood. Just as Mr. Darling demands that Wendy must grow up and relinquish her precious childhood stories and dreams, Hook embraces an identical desire to kill Peter Pan, the very symbol of childhood. Hook is the fatherly voice of adulthood in Wendy's fantasy world, threatening throughout the story to bring an abrupt end to her childhood adventures and innocence. When Wendy is captured by the pirates, Hook gives her a choice: to join the crew or walk the plank. Hook is ultimately forcing Wendy to choose between adulthood and death, leaving no room for childhood. Wendy chooses to walk the plank because the adulthood that Hook represents is evil and corrupt, and he, rather than Mr. Darling, is ultimately punished because he threatens to separate a family in his demand. Although Peter Pan could be viewed as a similar threat to the family in his rejection of adulthood, he is responsible for reuniting Wendy with her family in the end and so is not as threatening as Hook, who would send Wendy to her death rather than allow her to remain in childhood.

The only other connection that can be made between the pirates in *Peter Pan* and the family can be seen when Wendy sings a slow, serious song to the Lost Boys called "Your Mother and Mine." At this point in the film we see the pirates' reactions to Wendy's song: some look sorrowful, others are sniffing, and Smee, the comical pirate, actually cries aloud and lifts his shirt to reveal a tattoo of "Mother" enclosed by a heart. The pirates' reactions to the song suggest that the song is imparting a moral about the consequences of deviating from home or the family. The pirates have a brief moment of reflection and their response implies a feeling of sadness or regret at their detachment from their own mothers. Only Hook appears to be unmoved by the song as he is focused solely on his goal to kill Peter Pan.

Hook's defeat and punishment at the end of the film suggests two things. First, Hook must be punished not simply because he is a pirate and villain, but more importantly because he is a threat to conventional social order in his animosity toward childhood. Hook would have childhood killed, thus destroying the traditional family mold in which childhood and adulthood exist in harmony. Hook remains outside the boundaries of acceptable society in his refusal to reconcile with childhood and is punished accordingly. However, we do not see him die. We last see Hook being chased by the crocodile and can make our own assumptions as to his fate. Here we find the second significant aspect of the ending: Hook cannot be killed because of his connection to Wendy's father. To kill Hook would be to symbolically kill her father, and likewise adulthood. Wendy's reconciliation with her father is necessary to maintain the family structure. When Wendy announces that she is ready to grow up, Mr. Darling concedes that she can do so "in due time." The resolution at the end is comforting to an audience that expects to see traditional family values and morals upheld. Thus we find that this pirate's connection to the family, though not a positive one, is more significant than it initially seems, and Hook is detached from historical piracy in order for this association to be acceptable to a family-friendly audience.

In 1967, Disney presented us with another portrayal of pirates that was more specifically focused on piracy itself. Instead of playing a villainous role subservient to a protagonist, the pirates featured in Disneyland's *Pirates of the Caribbean* ride are the primary focus. The characters in the ride are referred to as "the rowdiest crew that ever sacked the Spanish Main" ("Magic Kingdom" para. 1). But here again we find a "Disneyfication" of piracy that favors a toned-down depiction of history as opposed to a reality that might be more offensive to viewers. Instead of frightening guests with tales of menacing pirates that terrorized towns, we are given "a comical cast of rascals, scoundrels, villains, and knaves" as we depart on a "rollicking boat ride to a Caribbean seaport under siege by a band of swashbuckling pirates" (para. 2). As a park that is concerned primarily with remaining family-friendly, Disneyland needed to portray a fantasy world that omits the worst aspects of piracy; a more realistic world in which pirates might be "hacking people to pieces with axes, raping young captives of all genders, and generally wallowing in filth and squalor" would be unacceptable (Memminger). The most disturbing and violent aspects of piracy were then made comical

and light-hearted so that instead of frightening they would amuse and entertain. In the ride the pirates are humorous and silly as they sleep with pigs and sing their well-known theme song, "Yo-ho, yo-ho, a pirate's life for me!"

The song itself poses a problem that raises questions concerning the ride's regard for family. While the pirates featured in the ride are based on fantasy, the lyrics in the song are startlingly close to reality:

Yo ho, yo ho, a pirate's life for me!
We pillage, we plunder, we rifle and loot,
Drink up me 'arties, Yo Ho!
We kidnap and ravage and don't give a hoot,
Drink up me 'arties, Yo Ho! ("Pirates...Script")

The song is repeated throughout the ride, and in some scenes is being sung by the pirates. In its insistence on altering the historical accuracy of pirates, Disney overlooked the bluntly truthful lyrics of the theme song, which is often the greatest lasting impression for guests who experience the ride. Perhaps Disney included the lyrics as a humorous component that adults would notice but that would likely go over the heads of most children. However, in the song itself we find perhaps the only connection to family in the ride. The last two lines of the song contain a reference to family that seemingly places the pirates in an acceptable light: "Aye but we're loved by our mommies and dads! Drink up me 'arties yo ho!" The song suggests that the pirates do have a conventional family relationship as they are loved by their parents. The fact that their parents would love them despite their deplorable acts implies that these pirates are not evil or unacceptable to society. Disney's pirates again maintain a connection to the family that allows them to be acceptable to us despite their position outside the margins of society.

Disney's emphasis on familial ties in its portrayals of pirates, once simply a minor and often unnoticed part of a larger story, has in recent years become the primary focus of the company and the chief desire of its audiences. In "Disney Revisited, Or, Jiminy Cricket, It's Musty Down Here!" Betsy Hearne observes the change over time and suggests, "Disney's modifications originate from accurate readings of our culture" (para. 17). At some point in the past decade Disney read our culture and decided that it needed to be changed. As a society we have become so accustomed to the unconventional and non-conservative that they have become normal and expected in our culture rather than the exception. Instead of connecting piracy with the family as a supplement to a film or ride and an implicit reinforcement of family values, Disney is now using pirates as a way to explicitly instill the family values and morals that we seem to have lost somewhere between the 1950s and today. Because they are still considered a criminal group outside the margins of society and opposed to our values, pirates are an ideal choice for Disney to use as a means of imparting a moral message concerning family values to today's society.

Disneyland is committed in its determination to be "based upon and dedicated to the ideals, the dreams, and the hard facts that have created America" (Schaffer para. 3). Yet, Disneyland has been forced to sacrifice the hard facts in order to preserve the ideals. In 1995, the Pirates of the Caribbean ride was refurbished to expose an even more toned-down and benign crew of pirates that are a further distortion of reality. In response to complaints that the ride was not politically correct, a scene in which pirates were originally chasing women was altered to portray the pirates chasing women carrying trays of food (Foxx). The new version of the scene is almost as problematic as the original. In "Disney's 'Bad' Pirates Walk the Plank," Charles Memminger comments on Disney's decision to adhere to such an objection: "Yes, men shouldn't chase women. But frankly men shouldn't chase women carrying trays of food, either. Men also shouldn't have shot at each other with cannon balls." Disney bowed down to the pressures of a society that is unwilling to accept the reality of piracy and altered a ride that was already fictitious in order to create an even further rift between its portrayal of pirates and the historical truth of piracy.

The refurbishment failed to account for all politically incorrect scenes. Surprisingly, Disney left intact perhaps the most problematic scene of the ride: the auction of women. When the ride was first created, Imagineer Claude Coates said that Walt Disney was most hesitant about this scene and its implications: "He came in one time and even said, 'This will be okay won't it?' He was just a little doubtful of auctioning off the girls. Was that quite 'Disney' or not?" (Foxx). In order to make the auction scene acceptable, a sign was added: "Take a Wench for a Bride." Why would such a scene be allowed to exist after the 1995 refurbishment if other scenes exploiting women were changed? It remains intact for the simple reason that the auction scene is connected to the family. The sign indicates that the women will be "taken" in order to be married, not to be abused, by the pirates. Because the tie to marriage is in the foreground of the scene, it is permitted to remain untouched. The theme song also remains untouched for perhaps the very same reason. Although the lyrics imply much more than we actually see, their implication is seemingly unnoticed in the light-hearted and comical atmosphere created in the ride. The connection to family, however slight, is enough for us to accept Disney's portrayal of pirates, even in such a politically correct climate.

The shift in focus on the family is evident not only in Disney's theme parks but also in its films. In 2003, Disney's next animated attempt at pirates was an adaptation of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*. *Treasure Planet* is a characteristic Disney movie, with "wholesome family morals and winsome comedy sidekicks" (Review 1). But in order to achieve such family morals, the original storyline had to be drastically altered. In sharp contrast to the original story, *Treasure Planet* focuses more on the father-son relationship between Long John Silver and Jim Hawkins than it does on the actual search for treasure.

The conflict of Silver and Jim's relationship lies at the heart of the story. Disney altered the original in a way that makes Silver appealing and ultimately heroic. Instead of viewing Silver as a villain because he is a pirate, adults can see his "innate sense of

parental instincts” and understand his connection with Jim (“Treasure” para. 4). While Disney villains are typically one-dimensionally evil, Silver is ambiguous. We know from the start that he is a pirate and a villain, but Disney’s portrayal of him makes us forget his role as anything other than a father. Silver is also visually connected to Jim. The film, which is set in space, features creatures that are combinations of animals and insects, and some that simply look alien. Jim and his mother are the only humans present, until we meet Silver. Silver is a cyborg—half-machine, half-human. His human side visually ties him with Jim and his mother, allowing for an even smoother transition for Silver from the role of the villain to that of the father. The rest of the pirates are alien, and so are situated at an acceptable distance from us.

Silver becomes Jim’s substitute father through a brief montage of scenes. As visions of Silver teaching Jim skills on the ship are contrasted with his faceless father gradually disappearing from his life, the film is explicitly informing us that Silver is the father Jim never had. The final transition from his father leaving to Silver reaching out for Jim solidifies his role as the father as well as our approval of him. In this scene and one immediately following, Silver sheds his pirate image and steps fully into the father role. Our only indication that he is a pirate at this point is his thick accent. The encouragement and admiration he voices for Jim is perhaps one of the most poignant moments in the film:

You’ve got the makings of greatness in ye, but ye gotta take the helm and chart your own course...and when the time comes ye get the chance to really test the cut o’ your sails and show what ye’re made of...well, I hope I’m there, catchin’ some of the light comin’ off ye that day.

The affection Silver obviously has for Jim comes across clearly in this speech, and is affirmed for us when he later remarks, “Gettin’ in too deep here. Next thing ye know they’ll be sayin’ I’ve gone soft.” Because of Silver’s relationship with Jim we never see him as frightening or a real threat, even when he turns on Jim and steps into his pirate role. Even then we are more uncertain of Silver than we are fearful, and it is more surprising to see him act like a pirate than it is to see him as a father figure and friend.

Comparing *Treasure Planet* to *Peter Pan*, we can see how the pirate has changed over time, especially with regard to his connection to the family. The pirate as a father figure in particular has evolved since Hook was created in 1953. While Hook as a symbolic father figure was threatening, Silver as a substitute father is more involved and important to the story. He actually assumes the role of a father by teaching Jim useful skills and caring for him during their journey. Unlike Hook, Silver is spared at the end. Hook would kill Wendy, and childhood, thus destroying the family, but Silver chooses to save Jim over the treasure, thereby redeeming himself for any piratical deeds by placing priority on his “son.” The other pirates, all clearly evil and one-dimensional, are punished for their wicked acts. Where Hook was unredeemable because of his refusal to accept childhood and remain faithful to the traditional family structure,

Silver must be redeemed because the audience desires to see him take the role of Jim’s father. He even goes so far as to give Jim a handful of treasure as he leaves at the end, to give to his mother to rebuild their inn. Silver is not merely a substitute father, but a fully realized one as he provides for his “family” and influences Jim’s decision to abandon his rebellious ways.

The need for the pirate to be connected to family can be most clearly seen in Disney’s most recent pirate film: *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl*. In this film, the main focus is on the pirates, but they are split into two definitive groups of good and evil. In “Avast, Me Hearties! A Review of Disney’s *Pirates of the Caribbean*” Susan Davies points out what the film fails to address and suggests Disney’s reason for again altering history:

Pirates could be, should be, about the return of the repressed, as all pirate...stories really are. Like terrorists, pirates are marginals and outcasts who rage at the power of the state that has screwed them over. A really good pirate story should give us the eerie feeling that people we are supposed to be afraid of are trying to tell us something...But real uneasiness is too risky for Disney. (para. 4)

In *Pirates of the Caribbean* Disney offers us two groups of pirates: one that is evil and threatening, and one that is good and ultimately triumphant. The focus of the film is on the conflict between these two groups, but it primarily lies with the heroes, both of whom are unconventional pirates. In his essay “Jolly Pirates,” Philip Stoup notes the irony of the film: “In Disney’s magical land of fantasy the world is topsy-turvy. The plundering is done by the upright British, and the men we come to idolize and love are the unruly and riotous pirates” (para.13). How have we evolved from deploring pirates like Captain Hook to idolizing them fifty years later?

The answer lies in the portrayal, which Disney has mastered. By “reading our culture,” as Betsy Hearne noted, Disney is able to provide a film in which pirates are both honorable and criminal. We are given excitement and danger, but we know that the heroes will prevail. Although “pirate movies are not easy to write, as they tend to turn off audiences for whatever reason,” Disney’s film succeeds where others fail because it appeals to a family audience instead of portraying pirates with disturbing historical accuracy (“Pirates...Curse” para. 3). The evil pirates in the film are confined to a “floating charnel house” and are clearly separated from the other group (Davies para. 5). These pirates are also set apart from historical pirates because of the curse they are under. This supernatural element rectifies the problem of depicting them in reality as plunderers and enemies of society. Not only does their plunder have a specific motive, but they are also paying for their evil deeds as the greed they were once motivated by now consumes them. Thus the pirates are detached from reality and consequently offer a moral lesson.

The pirates in the other group are unconventionally upright and heroic. Jack Sparrow and Will Turner are not the typical booty-seeking pirates that we have come to

expect historically; instead they seek freedom, adventure, and love. All are ideals that our society values, and so their marginality is acceptable. More importantly, both have strong connections to the family that serve to further solidify our approval for them despite their roles as pirates. It is especially easy for us to accept Will as a hero because he is not explicitly a pirate. He is tied to piracy through his father and does not actually become a pirate until he is forced to in order to save his love, Elizabeth. Will's family ties keep him on the right side of the margins, however. He is connected to Elizabeth through a conventional heterosexual relationship that we infer will lead to marriage. We also see his struggle to accept his connection to piracy, which he initially abhors, and accordingly to accept his father. Will is told in the film that his father was both "a good man and a good pirate," which is evidenced by his disapproval of the mutiny that left Jack marooned on an island: "Never sat well with Bootstrap what we did to Jack Sparrow...he said it wasn't right with the code. He said we deserved to be cursed and remain cursed." Will's father, because he was clearly "a good man," is acceptable as a pirate, and likewise so is Will. Will's ties to family are explicitly clear, as are his motives in the film: to rescue and be with Elizabeth.

Jack Sparrow, our main pirate protagonist, is portrayed quite differently than a traditional pirate. Aside from his odd mannerisms and idiosyncrasies, Jack is separated from historical pirates because of his family connections. Although Jack appears to be independent and not tied to a home or family, we see an unusual bond forming between him and Will. Jack becomes a father figure for Will—a substitute for the father Will struggles to accept throughout the film. Jack agrees to help Will rescue Elizabeth when he realizes that Will's father was his friend and shipmate. Jack stresses to Will, who refuses to believe that his father was a pirate, that he was not just a "bloody pirate and a scallywag," but more importantly "a good man." Jack instigates Will's struggle when he bluntly states, "Pirate is in your blood, boy, so you'll have to square with that someday." Incidentally, this fact never changes our view of Will in the film. We understand Will to be a good man first and foremost, and his piracy is depicted in a way that he maintains that status.

The relationship between Jack and Will develops as the story progresses, and we can ascertain that the men are symbolically, if not literally, falling into the roles of father and son. Although Jack does not appear to be much older than Will, he is actually old enough to be his father. Jack must have been the captain of Will's father, and so would have been roughly the same age, if not older, than his father. Jack instructs Will, both through example and direction, on how to act once he has crossed the margins of society and committed acts of piracy. Will seems unaware of his progression into piracy until Jack points out, "You sprung a man from jail, commandeered a ship of the fleet, sailed with a buccaneer crew, and you're completely obsessed with treasure." Here the treasure Jack refers to is not a pirate's treasure, but rather Elizabeth. Jack acts as a father figure as he works with Will along each step of his journey and opens his eyes to facts that Will is reluctant to admit. It is perhaps because of Jack's influence that Will finally has the courage to profess his love for Elizabeth, and his open defiance of the law when

he saves Jack from the gallows symbolizes his final step toward becoming both a pirate and a good man, like both his real and figurative fathers. But here the figurative father plays the most significant role in Will's struggle. It is through Will's journey with Jack that Will is able to realize that pirates can be good. Will's assertion that Jack is both a "good pirate and a good man," and the development of his relationship with Jack, allow us to accept Jack as both a pirate and a hero. The film suggests that pirates can be good men—when they are not historically accurate. Jack and Will never engage in plundering or unnecessary violence. Instead, their acts of piracy are driven by motives of love and the desire for freedom, which our society values.

Disney's portrayals of pirates have revealed a change over time in accordance with the changing values of society. Over the past few decades we have become increasingly exposed to violence and deplorable acts, especially in the entertainment industry. Our sense of morality and family values has consequently experienced an alarming decline, which is evidenced by our unconcerned acceptance of films and images that are violent, frightening, or lewd. The reality of our society is that we are no longer disturbed by such a complacent disregard for traditional family values and principles. In light of our current climate, it is easy to understand what Betsy Hearnes means when she says, "To the audiences of the 1960s, Disney was an icon. To the audiences of the 1990s, Disney is a myth" (para. 4). The basic ideals and values of the Disney Company reflected those of society in the 1960s, but in today's society those same ideals have been abandoned, and we remember them instead as a "myth."

However, the Disney Company strives to remain moral and upright in its works. In the 1950s and 1960s it was acceptable to portray Captain Hook as menacing and to show the pirates in a theme park ride plundering and chasing women while they sang a good-natured song because they were implicitly connected to the traditional family values that were inherent in society. Disney's portrayals of pirates exhibit a change over time because in today's society we have a greater need for pirates to be explicitly connected to the family. Disney is redefining a group of criminal outcasts by connecting them to society in order to impart moral lessons and instill family values that seem to be lost among current generations. Long John Silver must become a father figure for Jim to show that such a relationship can curb a rebellious teenager and set him on the right path. Silver's role as a pirate is secondary to his importance in Jim's life as a father. Likewise, Jack Sparrow and Will Turner are portrayed as having important family connections. Instead of adding to the violence already prevalent in our society, *Pirates of the Caribbean* offers an environment in which "even pirates shed their ferocious, booty-plundering images to become lovable miscreants" (Stoup para. 1). Disney has always been charged with altering history, but it does so even more overtly in its recent portrayals of pirates not only to make history more acceptable and accommodating, but also to influence today's society.

Why do we desire such a modification of history and accept Disney's portrayals of pirates? Perhaps, despite our tolerance of non-conservative norms and increasing neglect of traditional values, we still desire a connection to the family. The enthusiastic

response of audiences to *Pirates of the Caribbean* would support such a possibility. We might tolerate entertainment that is violent and crude in nature, but ultimately we are more appreciative of films, such as those that Disney offers, that do not simply impart a moral lesson but more notably reaffirm the importance of family and values in our own society. The *Pirates of the Caribbean* ride was modified not merely to be politically correct, but also to be more family-friendly. In 1953 it was not necessary for *Peter Pan* to focus on the pirates' connection with the family because the film itself was adequate in promoting family values to a society in which such ideals were already intrinsic. The pirate was connected to the family in order to make him less objectionable to society, but an emphasis was not placed on that connection. In a society that has greatly changed since then, Disney has taken responsibility for foregrounding essential family values in its films, ironically, through a group of "rascals, scoundrels, villains, and knaves" ("Pirates...Script"). By portraying pirates as being connected to the family, Disney is suggesting that family ties and values are inherent not just in certain societies, but in all societies and cultures, and so offers us reassurance and affirmation that such values are present in our own society even through its fictitious depictions of pirates.

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Protest into Pop: Hip-hop's Devolution into Mainstream Pop Music and the Underground's Resistance

BY H. LAVAR POPE

Introduction

Can radical, rebellious music remain authentic and pure in the face of popularization? Or, does message content change when radical music becomes generally accepted by a mass audience? Hip-hop culture began as a politically radical form of expression by wholly rejecting mainstream society, but today, rap music is an inescapable part of our media and mainstream culture. In the process, the music and message underwent a drastic change; *as rap music became more and more popular, it became less and less radical.*

Generally speaking, rap music is created with the specific purpose of being sold to a large, young-adult—but otherwise undiversified—audience. Rap artists work with record companies (including marketing strategists) in an effort to sell massive amounts of albums, and because rap is being sold to a general audience, many rap songs today are party-based. Rap artists and labels then sell the product to consumers through marketing schemes and advertising. Today, most rap albums contain a song *designed* to be a hit single. These hit songs are usually made into a video, released to radio stations and disc jockeys, and heavily advertised in an effort to sell an artist's entire album. Rap is the most visible part of hip-hop culture because it gets the most media time and exposure.

Hip-hop music, on the other hand, is usually created by independent labels or artist-driven labels. This music is created with a small, specific audience in mind: people with a vast knowledge and understanding of the history of hip-hop culture. Because of this, hip-hop artists are not under the same constraints as their rap counterparts. As I will discuss, hip-hop artists can create politically controversial and revolutionary music because they are outside of the mainstream view and media structure. Hopefully, these differences between hip-hop and rap will become more vivid through elaboration and illustration. This paper deals with the most “political” of questions: *How can a radical sub-culture/movement gain a large audience while remaining radical and progressive?*

Hip-hop culture begins with the most basic of political questions: How do people react when excluded? Hip-hop started in the Bronx in the mid- to late-1970s amongst post-industrial ruins, political exclusion, crime, and general political powerlessness.

Some authors assert this environment was *essential* to hip-hop's birth. Early hip-hop culture takes many forms: graffiti art, breakdancing, rapping, and even personal style, and it begins as a way of rejecting a mainstream train-of-thought. Famous rapper, philosopher, and leader KRS-One was a part of the birth of hip-hop culture, and he summarized the situation in one very simple and explicit sentence. He explains: "In the beginning hip-hop was a way of saying 'I see what y'all are doing over there, and fuck all that!'"¹ In less explicit words, KRS-One is describing hip-hop as a form of expression that was unconcerned with—and rejected—mainstream tastes and standards.

Hip-hop was largely created by impoverished and excluded minorities in the South Bronx who realized the degree of their political and social exclusion, and decided to start their own place for politics and form their own identity. These pioneers started by taking elements of mainstream society and warping or modifying these elements. The first hip-hop "beats" or instrumentals were simply snippets or "samples" of very popular mainstream rock and soul songs from the 1960s. In this way, a few seconds of a song—usually the chorus—were repeated. Rapping is another way these pioneers actively rejected mainstream society. Both in form (spoken word instead of singing), and in content, hip-hop music immediately begins to challenge musical norms and, more importantly, the norms of society.

In 1982, a song was released that blatantly linked hip-hop lyrics with politics. Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message" presented listeners with the conditions of inner-city decay. The opening verse begins:

A child was born, with no state of mind/Blind to the ways of mankind/God is smiling on you but he's frownin' too/Cause only god knows what you go through/You'll grow in the ghetto, living second rate/And your eyes will sing a song of deep hate/The places you play and where you stay/Looks like one great big alley way...It's like a jungle, sometimes I wonder/How I keep from going under.²

This portion of the opening verse shows the collision between innocence (the child) and post-industrial, ghetto ruins. This song served two functions; it was both an outcry against oppression and a means of escaping or coping with the conditions. This is how hip-hop started.

During the mid- to late-1980s, hip-hop was deemed worthy of television and radio time. More importantly, the music becomes Music Television (MTV) ready. The impact of this cannot be overemphasized; once hip-hop music became available to mass audiences—namely, a suburban, middle-class, teenage audience—a great divide occurred in subject matter, topics, and musical style. During this period, a split in hip-hop culture began: rap music, a facet or by-product of hip-hop culture, was broadcasted to the general population while underground hip-hop music continued to remain outside of the mass market system.

The general cooptation of a part of hip-hop culture raises a more important question concerning radical art forms and political expression. How can radical musical forms remain authentic—defined by their rebellious roots—and still reach a large number of people? How can a radical and politically relevant social movement remain pure while gathering support and a mass audience?

Track 1: Rap's Death

Rap as a part of hip-hop culture is currently being challenged by many hip-hop purists. In an article entitled "Rap Music is Killing Hip-Hop culture," Rashida Restaino contends:

Hip-hop is dying, and [mainstream rapper] 50 Cent is holding the murder weapon. As a rap artist, 50 Cent's success includes being ranked No. 1 on the Billboard charts for weeks and selling more than 870,000 CDs, making him the rap equivalent of Britney Spears: Not only does he not add anything positive to the music genre, but he also exploits it for his own financial gain.³

This author describes the state of hip-hop music today. First, it is part of the mass market. Brooklyn rapper 50 Cent is selling albums like hotcakes. He has hit singles on radio, hit videos on MTV and Black Entertainment Television (BET), and, at the time of this project, he is even flirting with the idea of releasing a clothing line and shoe line. The 870,000 albums that 50 Cent sold were consumed by a very diverse and national audience. Rap is now national, global, and bought by more than just black or minority teens in the ghettos.

Second, Restaino describes the content of 50 Cent's music as uncreative and highly "exploitive" because the rapper uses the rap industry for his own personal "financial gain." The rapper makes music to sell records, and because of this, 50 Cent is unconcerned with the culture of hip-hop. So, at the height of its power and popularity, rap music has become just another musical genre, comparable to the pop music of Britney Spears.

The evidence of a lack of creativity and innovation is displayed in today's rapper's lyrics. Restaino argues: "50 cent's idea of entertaining lyricism includes a song entitled 'Bloodhound' where he says, 'I love to pump crack/ Love to stay strapped/ Love to squeeze gats you don't hear me, though.'"⁴ This is one of many examples that show the lyrical content of many rappers atop the Billboard charts today.

Many rappers are conveying very negative—and inauthentic—messages, and the remaining artists atop the Billboard Charts are part of a subgenre best described as "party rap"—rap played mostly in dance clubs, television commercials, and even, sporting events. Billboard rap music has been reduced to two circles: one that raps about drug dealing, fast cars, and money and another that brags about success (through money) and the lifestyle enjoyed from it. In other words, Billboard rap music has been reduced to "thugs" and "ballers"—people that concentrate on the acquisition of rare,

expensive, and flashy diamonds, clothes, cars, and other goods. So, the “thug” image is almost entirely negative, and the “baller” image is a form of wasteful, excessive mass consumption. In “Is Rap Dead?” journalist Walter Dawkins writes, “The only topics are bling-bling materialism, how many guns you have, and ‘ho’s’.”⁵

So why is, “Rap,” as Atlanta-based artist Killer Mike says, “[N]ear death, floating and sick?”⁶ First and foremost, creativity and innovation has disappeared in rap. Second, mainstream rap music has become a genre that recreates and reinforces the adverse effects of “ghetto” existence. When 50 Cent raps about crack sales, he is perpetuating and glorifying a drug industry that tears apart many urban communities. When other rappers talk of jewels, cars, and designer clothes, they are wildly reinforcing capitalism, the same economic system that allows for an unequal distribution of wealth and therefore, poverty in the inner-cities.

The status of rap today is incredible considering the genre’s history. Rap has flipped many of the messages in hip-hop culture. It is now helping to perpetuate the violence in ghettos rather than to attack or discuss such violence. Rap is now buying into capitalism (heavily) instead of pointing out the many ways it can destroy inner-city black and minority youth. Hip-hop culture was once a powerful, legitimate movement that resisted mainstream culture. It was an expression and an art form, but now a part of hip-hop culture, rap music, has evolved into something else. Now, rap music is everywhere. It is on MTV, on the radio, in commercials, in between plays at football games, and even in political elections. It has been captured and imitated by mainstream America by way of various techniques and strategies, and in the process, it has lost its social and political impact.

Nonetheless, hip-hop started as a revolutionary, artistic movement and it must be examined in this context. In the early 1970s, philosopher Herbert Marcuse published a work largely concerned with the place of art in revolutionary movements. This includes music, and he distinguishes between authentic forms of revolutionary music and “contrived” music. He uses the example of black rock music (“life music”) and rock music adapted by whites (“performance” music) as an example:

Life music has indeed an authentic basis: black music as the cry and song of the slaves and the ghettos...With the takeover by the whites, a significant change occurs: white “rock” is what its black paradigm is not, namely performance. It is as if the crying and shouting, the jumping and playing, now take place in an artificial, organized space; that they are directed toward a (sympathetic) audience. What had been part of the permanence of life, now becomes a concert, a festival, a disc in the making.⁷

The same process is occurring in hip-hop culture; record labels, consumers, and advertisers (all outsiders) have influenced the music and packaged it for mass consumption. When rap emerges out of hip-hop culture, there is a significant change in the performers, target audience, and goals. By using Marcuse’s model, we can trace

this change and identify the causes for the change.

Black rock music and hip-hop music are very similar. Both have roots in black ghettos and both emerged as a completely authentic and revolutionary form of expression. Both types of music are “life” music. They both deal with the immediate sufferings or pains of the given artist, and they both operate as a form of therapeutic escape from the given artist’s harsh reality.

Early rock music was an escape for the artists. It was a way to express all of the built-up anger and frustration caused by poverty, racism, and general oppression. However, non-black promoters and record company managers began to take notice of this culture and turned the musical *artform* into an *industry*. In the process, the people (mostly white musicians) changed, the messages changed, but most importantly, the rock music lost the indescribable “rawness” that it once had as “life music.”

Likewise, the hip-hop groups that emerged in the early 1980s were expressing their discontent with an impoverished, crime-stricken, and racially-biased existence through music, graffiti, and break dancing. Some songs overtly expressed this cause, and some songs were simply ways of coping with this form of living. Either way, it was always a form of escape; artists could release tension, anger, and hopelessness through music. In both cases, the target audience was minority, inner-city, impoverished youth.

Marcuse’s theory that an original, authentic form of music can be modified and warped by its descendant forms is essential to my study. Similar to his example of “black music of the slaves and ghettos” being taken over, a part of hip-hop culture—rap—has been taken over and modified. Rap music is now often played in front of a “sympathetic” audience. Marcuse also notes the artificiality in “white rock music” and the “festival” concept the music brings. Mainstream rap is no different; it is contrived for a specific purpose and audience—namely, the American youth with television sets, radios, and money to buy albums and concert tickets. Although rap concerts are often “sold out” affairs, the composition of the crowd is a lot different from the first rap crowds. The crowds in rap’s early days could relate to the message, and were part of the given environment; the crowds today are, again, the youth that watch MTV or BET and purchase the artist’s recording and concert tickets.

In a lecture at Lehigh University, hip-hop artist and hip-hop culture guru Kris “KRS-One” Parker talked about this idea and successfully summed it up in two sentences. He said: “Rap is something we do. Hip-hop is something we live.”⁸ To KRS-One, hip-hop is a politically significant movement on both a personal and collective level, but rap is merely an effect or an offspring of hip-hop.

The popularization of rap poses quite a few problems. First, the messages change. If an artist’s target audience is inner-city, impoverished and suffering blacks, one message will emerge; in contrast, if an artist’s target audience is youth America, the message will probably be quite different. The empowerment message and the revolutionary elements in rap become blunted or disappear entirely as the audience grows larger. Hip-hop that remains largely underground, authentic, and untouched by the market still remains a form of political expression and cultural resistance. The problem is that

underground hip-hop lacks the large audience that mainstream rap enjoys. This issue is more important than hip-hop, rap, music, or even artwork because it deals with cultural resistance and target audience. The general question is: can a political movement remain authentic, true to its goals, and pure and still amass a large audience?

Hip-hop as a culture is nearly thirty-years-old, and during these years, certain values and guidelines have developed. Since hip-hop culture was created out of rebellion or a general distaste for mainstream culture, authentic hip-hop or rap should also embody and convey this sentiment. For this reason, most “pop rap,” from artists like Vanilla Ice, M.C. Hammer, and most recently, Will Smith, are not considered real versions of hip-hop. Mainstream rap also treads on the history of hip-hop culture; not many songs played on MTV or BET deal with real issues facing the youth, blacks, or impoverished people. I begin my analysis in the Bronx in the early 1980s.

Track 2: Old School Hip-Hop

In a book on popular culture, Douglas Kellner discusses the social conditions from which hip-hop emerged:

The 1980s was a period of decline in living conditions and expectations for blacks under conservative administrations who shifted wealth from the poor to the rich, cut back on welfare programs, and neglected the concerns of blacks and the poor. During this period, the standard of living conditions in the inner-city ghettos deteriorated with growing crime, drug use, teen pregnancies, AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, gangs, and urban violence.⁹

What was causing these conditions? Well, one reason for these social conditions is severe economic inequality and the absence of hope. Some economists argue that a movement of manufacturing jobs away from urban centers took place in the 1960s. Then, in the 1970s and 1980s, urban corporations moved from the cities to the suburbs. As a result, black and minority unemployment in the inner-cities skyrocketed. With the disappearance of legitimate jobs, some citizens turned to illegal sources of income, and the 1980s crack market became an appealing option for youth.¹⁰ Drug crime produced cities of violence and the adverse social conditions described in “The Message.”

So, one can see how hip-hop is widely considered to be a genre of music that emerged in response to inequality. Blacks and Hispanics in the inner-city of the Bronx needed an outlet or a way to express their discontent with their conditions. Many of these racial minorities turned to hip-hop music, graffiti art, and break dancing. Kellner’s quote above emphasizes the horrible living conditions which inner-city minorities faced with in the early 1980s. Kellner’s description also sheds light on the lyrics in the Grandmaster Flash and the Furious 5 single “The Message.” At the time of the song’s release, there was a general lack of opportunity, a lack of equality, and sadly, a lack of hope in inner-city New York.

“The Message” is simply one example of a hip-hop song that expressed the concerns of inner-city, minority youth; there are countless others, and many come from this time period. It is important to note that this single was also a top seller and a hit record; it was heard by people outside of the ghetto, and it introduced many people to this new form of music. Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five’s single was creative, expressive, and highly relevant while reaching a large, diverse audience.

How effective was hip-hop as a form of resistance? First, it has a certain “shock effect” that succeeds in challenging the mores and standards of mainstream society. Rap music remains successful in this endeavor. Second, hip-hop successfully exposes problems and conditions that are often ignored or overlooked by leaders. Third, over the course of a few decades, hip-hop culture has granted minority, underprivileged, and largely silenced groups, coverage and public expression in mainstream America. Fourth, hip-hop culture deals with the power relationships. Even rap’s most violent and offensive form, gangsta rap (rap about drugs, gangs, and the violence in such a life) deals with power. In an article on gangsta rap culture, author Robin D.G. Kelley says gangsta rap, “creates an imaginary upside-down world where the oppressed are powerful.”¹¹ Fifth, we can look at hip-hop that is instrumentally political. Some hip-hop lyrics encourage or push groups to take specific political actions. This is resistance stripped of all covers, and it can inspire action. Finally, we must remember the roots of hip-hop. It emerged as way of dealing with the adverse effects of Reaganomics. It started as simply a way to escape or forget the harsh conditions of the inner-city ghetto. Herbert Marcuse talks about “internal revolution” in the context of black rock music, and he argues, “the music is body; the aesthetic form is the ‘gesture,’ of pain, sorrow, indictment.”¹² For Marcuse, even this simple form of resistance is important in inspiring revolution and social change.

Track 3: Rap Today

In 1986, hip-hop/rap group Run-D.M.C. released a single with rock group Aerosmith entitled “Walk This Way.” Almost immediately, this song topped pop charts and gained immense MTV and radio airplay. In a surprising display of swiftness, hip-hop culture became a part of the mass media and media culture.

This event changed hip-hop from a back alley subculture into a part of popular culture. *At this moment, a clear split in hip-hop culture occurred, and rap music emerged.* Rap music became a popular and mass consumed part of hip-hop culture, and hip-hop music was reduced to a largely underground and invisible (in the mass market) style of music. Of course, these two subgenres are interconnected and have the same original source, and because of this, there is not a perfect divide between them. In fact, in the late 1980s rap and hip-hop were very similar.

Yet, as the years passed, the split became clearer. Rap assumed mainstream success during the early and mid 1990s, and by 1997, rap had become part of the mass market system. According to Billboard Charts, in 1998, rap became the top-selling genre of music (replacing Country Music). Next, it gained its own category and subcategories

for award shows. While many original artists and figures were happy about this new acceptance of hip-hop culture through rap, few noticed the changes in the message or thought about the effect it would have on the culture.

Before its mainstream success, rap had some positive messages. For example, in a notorious statement, Chuck D of the politically active and radical group Public Enemy claimed that rap music was the “black CNN.” This statement works in a couple of ways. One could take the statement to mean that rap is the news source or medium for black people, that blacks—instead of watching CNN or the nightly news—turn to rap culture for recent events or problems facing their community. In this view, the music serves as an authentic source of information.

On the other hand, one could take Chuck D’s statement in a completely different direction. Rap music could also be looked at as an information source for those outside of black and minority culture. Mainstream rap videos on MTV were for some people the most readily available image of minorities. For example, a kid growing up in a rich, suburban community who was unaware of the conditions of the ghetto could turn to rap music and videos as a second-hand source. In other words, rap music, often broadcasted the problems of blacks to other racial or socio-economic groups in society.

Author of *The Hip Hop Generation: Young Blacks and the Crisis in African-American Culture* Barkari Kitwana provides six specific examples of how rap music has both supported and influenced social change. The list includes: dealing with “The Haitian Refugee Crisis,” “Rappers and Mumia Abu-Jamal,” support of “The Million Man March,” support of “The Million Youth March,” ending and pacifying the “East Coast/West Coast Conflict,” and funding “Social Programs and Foundations.” These are very explicit examples of how mainstream rap has used its power in positive, community-benefiting ways. However, Kitwana fails to explain that rap also *started* the East coast/West coast conflict, a war that is responsible for the deaths of tens of artists and most notably the deaths of Christopher Wallace a.k.a. Notorious B.I.G. and Tupac Shakur.

Popular rap music used to have social relevancy, but that has changed over the last ten years. The artists are more controversial lyrically and topically, but they have grown less and less radical politically. The most effective method of showing the problems with the messages in today’s popular rap music is to analyze an album. So, I consider The Clipse’s 2002 album, *Lord Willin’*.

Buzzing off of a Top 10 summer single, rap duo “The Clipse” released their first mainstream album entitled *Lord Willin’* on August 20, 2002. There are fifteen songs on the album, and as a whole the album closely resembles a gangster film; only two topics are discussed on the album: the sale, production, and distribution of cocaine and the excessive spending of the money gained from this illicit business. The Clipse is composed of rappers “Pusha T” and “Malice” (actual brothers) and rap, pop, and rock superproducers “The Neptunes.” The Neptunes provide intense and catchy beats, while the two rappers spit laid-back, arrogant, and punch line-filled rhymes.

The album immediately starts with a rapping introduction and the opening line lets the listener know precisely what the album will be about. Pusha T raps: “Playas we ain’t the same, I’m into ‘caine and guns.”¹³ Then the rappers talk about growing up, and how they became heavily involved in the drug game. Malice explains: “I even went by the book at first/Until I realized 9 to 5 wouldn’t quench my thirst.”¹⁴ So, how did Malice quench his thirst? He says:

I chefed that soft white and pumped from her crib/Scouts honor started with my grandmamma/Who distributed yay she had flown in from the Bahamas/ Partner, please, I grinds, I hustle with ease/Can damn near eyeball any weight in my sleep.¹⁵

By “chefing,” Malice means turning pure or powder cocaine into crack rocks. This album is filled with almost every street term for cocaine and crack (the section above has three). Then, he describes his family involvement in drug dealing and his expertise and experience. The entire album is an extension of the introduction song: the same topics, only the beats change. Today, for ground-shaking and politically aware hip-hop music of old, listeners must turn to the underground or unexposed portion of the culture.

Track 4: Mass Appeal: Explaining the Changes in Rap Music

“And you’d be happy as hell to get a record deal/Maybe your soul you’d sell to have mass appeal.”

-Gang Starr, “Mass Appeal”, 1994¹⁶

I return Marcuse’s analysis as a model for describing the change in hip-hop culture. In Marcuse’s theory, two things changed in rock. There was a shift from authenticity to “performance,” and in the process, rock changed from a mode of expression (“cry and song of the slaves and the ghettos”) to entertainment (“concert, festival, a disc in the making”). The second change in Marcuse’s analysis involved the addition of an audience. As he says, in “performance” or “white rock,” the messages are “directed toward a (sympathetic) audience.” Taken together, these two shifts suggest there are social, economic, and political reasons the content in rap music is quite different from the content in early hip-hop.

SHIFT ONE: RAP AS PART OF MUSIC MARKET SYSTEM

Regardless of genre or artist, all popular videos and songs (MTV or pop-radio) have at least one thing in common: each video goes through a massive, intense filtering system. All final products on television or radio are picked from a pool of many products. The market screens products in at least two ways, and rap music, as a part of the mass market is no exception. Rap is screened first by an economic-driven filter system. Simply put, record labels want to push records that will make enormous profits. So,

naturally, certain extreme or eccentric messages will be filtered out of the system.

In the early 1970s, sociologist Paul Hirsch noticed this trend in the music industry, and he developed a model and analysis of it. The Paul Hirsch filtering system describes the manufacture of many products in our society. Some scholars, like Hirsch, contend the system even closely chronicles the process in which national political candidates are chosen. Hirsch's model is vital in understanding why certain products are endorsed and sold while others fail.

The filtering system is required because the number of products "far exceeds the number that can be successfully marketed."¹⁷ There are simply more products than available consumers. In the rap industry, there are too many artists and not enough ears. So, logically, there has to be a selection process to determine which products will be promoted and "sponsored." This is an important stage, and obviously the messages that are agreeable and understandable to mass numbers of people will be picked. Meanwhile, messages that are radical or extreme will be excluded because they have less of a chance to succeed.

In Hirsch's model, after a product receives corporate backing or sponsorship, it has to get media approval and coverage. This step involves the communication of the product to the consumer. Hirsch says: "[Products] must be 'discovered,' sponsored, and brought to public attention...before the originating artist or writer can be linked successfully to the intended audience."¹⁸ It is important to note this is the first time the product first leaves the artists' complete control. Ultimately, rap artists rely on promoters and record labels to package and sell their albums. I will discuss the implications of this later.

Even after the decision to promote the product is reached, the media still holds a certain power over the product. Disc jockeys and video jockeys can decide which records to play and which records to avoid. Hirsch describes this role as a "gatekeeper." Hirsch claims: "*The diffusion of particular fads and fashions is either blocked or facilitated at this strategic checkpoint.*"¹⁹ These people have the power to shut out the product or to promote it heavily. This can be an economic decision. For example, a disc jockey could choose to *not* play a record because he or she feels the record's unusual or non-mainstream nature would turn away listeners, radio station sponsors, and money. Economic-based filtering is one reason rap has changed.

Finally, in Hirsch's system, the product is subject to what he calls "institutional regulators"—powerful media "gatekeepers." He argues these people are supposed to base their selection of products on independent and unbiased standards, but oftentimes this is hard to accomplish.²⁰ The biggest problem is that radio and television are funded by advertising sponsors. These sponsors want the widest-ranging, largest audience possible. Because of this, disc jockeys are almost forced to play the most popular and requested songs. This process kills radical music and tightly closes the system for new sounds. This is one reason why party rap music is played on MTV and BET while authentic hip-hop is left out. So, mainstream rap is placed under these largely economic-driven limits and conditions. By the time it goes through this system, it has been changed or

co-opted to attain the largest possible audience.

In addition to the above process, radical voices are marginalized in the market by deliberate removal or exclusion. This is closely related (and often interacts) with the economic-driven process. As a record label, it is an economic risk to endorse a record. So, records with a good possibility of causing conflict or trouble are not endorsed. For example, if an emerging artist's album is likely to cause problems with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) or the government for radical lyrics, the album is not sponsored. This has been a hot topic since September 11, 2001 and the Patriot Act, and there are many recent examples of record companies removing their endorsement of albums because of potential strife.

For example, in the summer of 2001, the radical Oakland-based hip-hop group "The Coup" went to take photos for their album cover. The finished photo was a picture of the two artists detonating a bomb to blow up the World Trade Center. The album was to be released in September of 2001, but Warner Bros (the distributor), pulled the album out of production after the tragedies of September 11, 2001. The group was investigated and questioned by government officials in relation to these events.

In addition to the danger—economic or otherwise—an artist could bring to a record label, The Coup example shows another process at work. Warner Bros has a reputation at stake; as a company that owns national television networks, radio, and smaller record labels, there is a need to filter out such radical, extreme voices because they carry the label name and image.

This filter system process helps explain rap music's political death.²¹ Yes, music of The Clipse, 50 Cent, and other drug, gun, and violence orientated records are *controversial*, but these types of records are not instrumentally political (stirring action), politically radical, or politically, socially, and economically dangerous. In contrast, many voices in underground hip-hop *are* controversial, radical, extreme, and politically instrumental. As I will show, many of these underground voices critique American society, the American political system, and the American—or world—economic system. Hirsch's model of the filter system gives one answer why these voices are excluded from MTV and radio play.

With its rise in popularity, rap also became a big part of the advertising industry. This is a blatant form of co-optation, and it has an effect on the way many artists create music. With advertising opportunities on the horizon, the likelihood of a mainstream artist creating a song or record that attacks capitalism (generally or specifically) goes down. The link between rap and capitalism subdues certain messages.

Today, there are many artists that help promote products, mass consumerism, and mass consumption, and this is interesting considering hip-hop culture's past (an original challenge to capitalism) and the demographics of the artists (largely inner-city impoverished blacks). Douglas Kellner is concerned with the issue of advertising in rap. He writes:

Rap can thus easily become a commodity fetish and mode of assimilation. Rap has also been assimilated to advertising with shoes, cars, and even food storage ads (the Reynolds [w]rap campaign), have used rap techniques.”²²

Kellner noticed this trend in 1995, and in the nearly ten years after his writing, the rap-advertising trend has increased exponentially.

Rappers—like other musical artists—are now celebrities. They have “star power” and are marketable and valuable to other entertainment industries. Rappers are now sought out to do movies and television shows. This trend in itself is not dangerous, but when the music and message becomes diluted, this trend becomes a huge issue in the hip-hop culture. Rap music becomes a tool of the market and is used in selling products and accumulating wealth.

The market system also causes the product to leave the hands of the creator or artist and enter the hands of the corporation and advertisers. Today, after a rap artist creates an album, it is the responsibility of the advertisers to push the album. They can decide which songs to promote and the targets for promotion. In a critique of (what is now) early capitalism, Karl Marx noticed this trend. He says:

The capitalist mode of production, for example, rests on the fact that the material conditions of production are in the hands of non-workers in the form of property in capital and land, while the masses are only owners of the personal condition of production, of labor power.²³

So, as glamorous as their careers and lives may seem, most artists only have complete ownership of one thing: their (creative) labor power. Few rap artists have the money to promote and endorse their own products to large audiences; they need financial backing by record companies. Even in the recording industry, a small number of people control production, promotion, and final financial decisions regarding products.

This has a very big effect on the final product in mainstream rap. For example, if a record company recognizes a certain type of rap (party or pop rap) will sell to a larger, more diversified audience than conscious rap (rap about politics, identity, and race), an artist could be pressured into modifying his or her music and message. Artist resistance could result in loss of promotion, strained relationships with the record company, and loss of future contract opportunities. It is obvious, then, rap artists do not have total control over their products. This allows those unfamiliar with hip-hop history and culture to make decisions on the selection of songs, albums, and overall image of rappers and is another reason the mainstream messages in rap music have undergone a drastic change.

Rap has been standardized because certain limits and expectations have been put on it. It is no longer independent of the market or media. Rather, mainstream rap depends on these tools. It uses the market for sales and the media for promotion and airplay. In the process, the market and media judge, critique, and impose standards on rap. Now,

major radio and video stations can determine which records get airplay.

Rap has also been co-opted by the very systems it opposed in its infancy. The market and media systems now use rap music for advertising of products. Rap today even *reinforces* capitalism. When rappers speak about fast cars, shiny diamonds, and designer jeans, they are preaching mass consumerism and materialism. Rap group “Big Tymers” sums up the materialist nature of rap in a song off of their 2003 album *Big Money Heavyweight* named “Got Everything.” The chorus goes:

Got everything they ever built/Everything they ever made/And on my bed I
even got a mink spread/And all my cars gotta have spinnin blades/And all my
toys gotta have an infrared.²⁴

This new dialogue can be attributed to a few differences between rappers today and rapper of yesteryear. The most notable difference is that rappers from the 1970s to the early 1990s did not have the wealth and influence of rappers today. Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five—of the 1980s—did not have the money to buy fast cars or the power to reach millions.

The biggest problem today with rap today is that it has to go through a mass reconstructive filtering system. The videos on MTV and BET are the final products and the few that were deemed airplay worthy. The problem is that politically significant rap rarely makes it through this system. It is usually filtered and thrown out. If by some incredible feat, it does make through the system, it is usually reduced or edited in message content.

SHIFT TWO: AUDIENCE CHANGE

According to KRS-One, there really was no audience in early hip-hop. At park gatherings and DJ competitions in the early 1980s everyone in the crowd was actively connected with hip-hop culture. There were (and are) four elements of hip-hop culture, DJing, graffiti art, emceeing (MCing), and breakdancing.²⁵ and according to KRS-One, every person in the crowd was a participant in one of the four elements. At park shows, people attended to breakdance, compare and talk about graffiti art or “writings,” DJ, and rap. So, everyone in the crowd was a participant in hip-hop culture.²⁶

This active, 1980s hip-hop audience greatly differs from today’s rap audience. One can define today’s rap audience by looking at concert and album sales. According to SoundScan,²⁷ in 2003, the overall top-selling album was 50 Cent’s *Get Rich or Die Tryin’*. It sold 6,535,809 copies in eleven months.²⁸ Most of these six million-plus buyers are not actively involved with hip-hop culture; they are merely consumers of a product. Rap music, as Marcuse says of the co-optation of black rock, becomes a “performance,” a “festival,” and a “disc in the making.”²⁹ In fact, in 2003, 77 plus million rap “discs” were sold, and the previous year, almost 84.5 million rap records were sold.³⁰ These numbers are astronomical and difficult to for the human imagination to comprehend, but it is enough to say that rap, as part of the pop media system,

has a new audience. The genre has shifted from active participators to people with “wallets” who enjoy hit songs, beats, and flashy videos.

What does this mean? Well, in the early 1980s, the inner-city audiences had an invested interest and hand in hip-hop culture’s development, and because of this, the musical product was controlled by relevant and radical interests. Today’s rap consumers are mostly removed from hip-hop culture and many are indifferent, unaware, or unconcerned with hip-hop’s past.

Obviously, the audience demographics have also changed. It does not take an expert assessment to show that impoverished blacks *did not* account for 161.5 million rap album sales between 2002 and 2003. Popular rappers like 50 Cent³¹ offer controversial, but ultimately, politically safe, versions of rap by talking about immense wealth and glorifying gangster drug-pushing; these rappers offer a message of rebellion to teens and young adults while remaining within the safe boundaries expression.

So, because of the market system and change in audience, rap music becomes a mere imitation of early hip-hop. On the outside, the swearing, gun-waving, and tattooed arms of rappers seem like signs of rebellion. Yet, when the political relevancy of these popular rap albums and artists is tested, they fail immensely. However, today, there are still parts of hip-hop culture that are rebellious on the exterior and radical in message content. These forms are not publicized; they are found in the underground.

Track 5: The Freedom of Underground Hip-hop

“They say hip-hop is dead/I’m here to resurrect me.”

-Common³²

While mainstream rap changes and is consumed by the mass market and media systems, underground hip-hop music remains a voice of opposition. Many hip-hop artists continue to attack capitalism in the same manner, but with more intensity, as Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five’s “The Message.” Some artists simply attack the social system in America today, and other hip-hop artists attack rap music and other things they see as “inauthentic.” There are reasons for hip-hop’s survival as a defiant voice in society.

First and foremost, underground hip-hop is outside the media and market system. In many ways, it is independent of commercial standards of judgment. Hip-hop artists still have the ability to speak about anything and still gain acceptance from their community. This freedom allows for creativity and innovation. Because of their target audience, rap artists do not enjoy this freedom.

Secondly, underground hip-hop music is mostly untouched by major corporations and largely unnoticed by the government. Today, most underground hip-hop artists come from independent (“indy”) labels. On these independent labels, artists have more control and influence over the promotion, sale, and packaging of their music. In a sense, underground hip-hop artists make and run their own labels. This is in sharp contrast to mainstream rap labels. Most mainstream rap sub-labels are part of large, corporate super-labels.

Anticon is an excellent example of a politically active, underground hip-hop label. The label is composed of left-wing radical hip-hop artists and DJs, and the label’s website (www.anticon.com) provides “alternative” news (such as *Common Dreams*) and information, political and social satire, lots of links to unconventional educational sites (Noam Chomsky, sites on non-violence), and links to other underground hip-hop artists and labels. The label mission statement: “Anticon is a label for a movement.”

Underground hip-hop music also remains politically and socially relevant because it does not have to go through a mass filtering system, and as a result, it remains relatively pure in message content. This allows hip-hop artists to reject capitalism, materialism, and mass consumerism. While mainstream rappers talk about cars and embrace wealth, hip-hop artists often expose—both explicitly and implicitly—the effects of an unequal distribution of wealth. On a micro and usually implicit level, hip-hop artists sometimes will talk about their everyday struggles under the social and economic systems. For example, a hip-hop artist could discuss an awful and exploitative week of work followed by a check that does not stretch far enough. Many artists have perfected this form of storytelling. Minneapolis hip-hop artist Slug from the group Atmosphere is one great example. The Atmosphere catalogue of albums forms a valid critique of American society from the point of view of the forgotten and discarded working population.

Hip-hop artists also utilize other means of attacking the economic and social systems. Some artists make a very big-picture or macro attack on the American system. Artists like dead Prez (formally Dead Presidents, a slang term for American currency) and The Coup are the most noteworthy examples of this form of rejection. Instead of the artist focusing on isolated, individualized examples of exploitation, these artists will usually point out the vices of the larger social system.

So, underground hip-hop artists offer valid opposition to powerful systems (political, economic) in our society, but hip-hop music has a major problem: it reaches a limited and small audience of people. As discussed, it does not have the large scale market or tools that rap enjoys. As a result, underground hip-hop music’s audience is often composed of the people in society that are aware and recognize the problems. In other words, hip-hop artists often deliver messages to those who do not need to hear it.

Track 7: Outro

Hip-hop culture can inspire action for individuals. Songs like Grandmaster Flash’s “The Message” shows that this type of music has the ability to raise audience awareness to social-political problems. As mentioned, an author like Todd Boyd points to early hip-hop music as a changing force in his young-adult life.³³ In today’s world, politically conscious hip-hop music could be a useful device in informing individuals about the social realities in the inner-cities, third-world countries, or of blacks and minorities in general. It could also be used as a tool in speaking out against the individual worker’s pains under capitalism.

Yet, we don't see this. Rather, the most visible rap videos are of bragging, gun-blazing, drug-slinging, inner-city minorities. Today, most mainstream rap music is composed of good, appealing beats and mindless, inconsequential lyrics. And the fans dance. And audience recites the lyrics.

Obviously, the popular music industry will not broadcast the underground hip-hop revolution. It would go against the logic of capitalism to do such a thing. It would be dangerous and possibly destructive to give stage time to radical, critical, and hungry voices. Instead, the consumerist, exploitive messages of mainstream rap are welcomed with open arms by record companies and advertising.

Like many movements, change must start from the bottom up. The listeners who are aware of hip-hop's history and power must start examining mainstream rap music and pointing out its failures and shortcomings. Hopefully, this challenge and debate will reach the millions of people buying rap records, or better, the mainstream rap artists making the records. In either case, such scrutiny could be used to change the rap music market. Rap artists would be challenged to make more creative, original records.

This process has started. In the last couple of years, many mainstream rap artists have released albums resembling underground forms of music in message content, political awareness, and creativity. One such example is Atlanta-based, duo Outkast's 2003 Grammy-grabbing, double-album *The Speakerboxxx/The Love Below*. The album is musically daring, and surprisingly, it sold millions of copies. Another example is Chicago native, Kanye West's 2004 release *College Dropout*. The rapper/producer uses soul samples, taboo political and social topics, and largely underground hip-hop messages in his album. This too is currently selling like hotcakes.

Meanwhile, the spread of underground and politically conscious forms of hip-hop music could also be a powerful tool in preserving hip-hop authenticity and, more importantly, critiquing the problems of society. The standardization of the internet in American homes can definitely help spread underground hip-hop and the ideas and literature necessary to understand the musical sub-genre. This largely eliminates the market influences that shape mainstream music, and allows for unadulterated messages to reach large numbers of people.

"If the revolution ain't gon' be televised/Then fuck, I'll probably miss it."³⁴ This is the voice of the majority of consumers today. Admittedly, it takes hard work and effort to find out the economic, social, and political truths of our society. It is easier to sit, watch, and accept what is shown to us. With rap music, it is easier to sit and watch the available list of videos on MTV and BET than it is to search out underground hip-hop music; it is easier to understand and comprehend mainstream rap music lyrics than it is to understand, comprehend, and swallow underground hip-hop lyrics. In this way, rap listeners become the type of audience that political philosopher Herbert Marcuse warned against: an audience of politically dead, passive spectators watching a performance or show.

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¹³ Clipse, "Intro," *Lord Willin'*, Arista, 2002.

¹⁴ Clipse, "Intro," *Lord Willin'*, Arista, 2002.

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¹⁶ Gang Starr, "Mass Appeal," *Hard to Earn* Capital Records, 1994.

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²¹ In *Manufacturing Consent* (2002), Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman demonstrate how the mass media protect, serve, and reinforce the agenda of the powerful and rich. They also discuss a market filter system.

²² Douglas Kellner, "Black Voices from Spike Lee to Rap," *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics Between the Modern and Postmodern*, New York: Routledge, 1995, 189.

²³ Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," *The Marx-Engels Reader* Ed. Robert C. Tucker, New York, and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978, 531.

²⁴ Big Tymers, "Got Everything," *Big Money Heavyweight* Universal Records, 2003.

- ²⁵ Today, MCing or rapping is by far the most visible element of hip-hop culture.
- ²⁶ Kris “KRS-One” Parker, address, Lehigh University, Bethlehem (PA), 5 February 2004.
- ²⁷ SoundScan is a division of the Nielson rating company that compiles album sales statistics.
- ²⁸ “Nielson SoundScan and Nielsen BDS 2003 Year End Music Industry Report,” *Nielson SoundScan and Nielsen BDS* 31 December 2003, 25 March 2004 <http://www.businesswire.com/webbox/bw.123103/233655222.htm>
- ²⁹ Herbert Marcuse, *Counterrevolution and Revolt*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1972, 114-115.
- ³⁰ These figures also include most hip-hop sales, but the sale of mainstream rap music almost completely accounts for the numbers.
- ³¹ SoundScan detected 359,604 plays of 50 Cent’s “In Da Club,” the second most of any song in 2003.
- ³² Kanye West, “Get Em High” (featuring Common and Talib Kweli), *College Dropout* Roc-A-Fella Records, 2004.
- ³³ See Todd Boyd, Preface to *The New H.N.I.C.: The Death of Civil Rights and the Reign of Hip Hop* New York: New York University Press, 2002.
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Discovery Prehistoric Cave Painting through Modern Contexts

BY GELSEY BELL



When considering the cave in modern culture, my thoughts first rush to freeway overpasses and tourist attractions. The public space of the modern cave in cement exists as a playground for wandering hobos and children who have nowhere better to go. The privatized space of actual caves on state parks or historical landmarks exists as a tourist attraction for families. When considering the cave in prehistoric times, it is impossible for us to ever know the exact relationship that it held with humans. All we have are clues from archeological finds of bones and the mysterious images painted on its walls. I will explore the possible meanings and functions of prehistoric cave art by exploring art on walls and cave-like structures in contemporary culture. First I will explore religious sanctuary space, hidden and intimate space, and the private experience. Then I will discuss art in public space from the community mural to the advertisement. Each section will be viewed in regards to its possible similarities with prehistoric cave paintings.



Private Space

The Cave of Chauvet-Pont-d'Arc, located in the south of France, at Vallon-Pont-d'Arc (Ardèche), is only entered by crawling on all fours through a narrow tunnel. The journey to the first cavern opens one into another world with various shades of brown, heavy air, and drawings on the large, looming walls. The entrance to Father Wagner's Wonder Cave, located in Rudolph, Wisconsin, is described in a similar manner. "The sense of crossing a threshold to another world is exceptionally strong. You stoop to enter; the door is only about four feet high. Then you follow a narrow path that winds around the inside of the hill for about a thousand feet" (Beardsley 119). The grotto is considered the Catholic replication of the sacred cave. When Father Paul Dobberstein wrote of the impetus for his Grotto of the Redemptive, he referred to limestone caves located in mountainous areas of Europe which served as shelter and sanctuary for local shepherds. The caves "came to be decorated with religious emblems and served as impromptu places of worship. In Dobberstein's mind, the shepherds praying in these high mountain caves experienced 'a more vivid and direct communication [with God] than those living out among the cares and distractions of the noisy world'" (Beardsley 110). Dobberstein created his own grottos in West Bend, Iowa to enable the contemporary American the same sort of sacred space.

Though the grotto is a public space, it is guarded as a private abode. One exists in its space as a guest of the sacred. Rolf Stein describes Taoist caves of ancient China as "perfect worlds" and "cave-heavens" that house the immortals (Stein 55). The grottos house intimate experiences of sorrow and rapture as common place. One does not go to a grotto to chat but to pray. One who enters the space is immediately struck with its rich silence. That silence has great power for the character of the space. As Bachelard points out in his *Poetics of Space*, Henri Bosco intuits this power in his "Malicroix":

"There is nothing like silence to suggest a sense of unlimited space. Sounds lends color to space, and confer a sort of sound body upon it. But absence of sound leaves it quite pure and, the silence, we are seized with the sensation of something vast and deep and boundless" (Bachelard 43).

This sensation of boundlessness could only be enhanced by the large dark caverns in which some great cave paintings lie. The acoustics in caves is amazing. With the amazing acoustics of caves, the voice bounces in all directions until it no longer feels like one's own. It becomes an object of music with which the vocalist must confront herself.



Grotto of the Trinity

Dobberstein intended the Grotto of the Redemptive to " 'tell, in silent stone mad spiritually eloquent... the fundamentals of the Christian religion' " (Beardsley 107). The drama of Christ's life was to come alive and enchant the spectator into greater devotion. This type of religious propaganda is no different than the storytelling of the local movie house (another cave-like space where one enters through narrow corridors). It has been the mantra of many a folklorist that prehistory entertained itself

exclusively with story. We feel closest to this ancient tradition today when we sitting around the campfire telling ghost stories. The blackness hugs tight around us with only dancing shadows against the trees. Our faces take on new light, as if we are wearing masks. The storyteller invites us to share in a secret he is daring to share. The story reflects the uncertainty of space surrounding us. We don't know from what direction the monster will strike.

Imagine that you are child and you are sitting in a cave for the first time listening to a similar scary story, getting nervous about where the monster may leap from. A four foot painting of a bison above my head would no doubt involve itself in such a story. Or perhaps the story is more similar to the martyr's story. The most ridiculous aspect of historic and prehistoric scholarship is that theoreticians seem to always assume that every individual in past cultures perceives stories in the same way. In the two thousands years that Jesus has been around, there is no doubt that the Christian has interpreted him differently.

In Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* he infers many things about the cave in his discussion of the cellar. "In the cellar, darkness prevails both day and night, and even when we are carrying a lighted candle, we see shadows dancing on dark walls" (Bachelard 19). They become "sanctuaries of the secret" and "buried madness," The dark beneath is where we go to convene with our secrets and to allow ourselves some intimate madness. It is the perfect place for the shaman to discover himself. This inference is surely part of what influenced so many highly regarded prehistorians to explain the cave paintings as art of the shaman. Bachelard speaks of the home as the space for daydreams, but the cellar is the space for the secret daydreams, which merely haunt the upper floors, to materialize out of dark obscurity.

The instinct to seek out such out-of-the-way immense, yet also intimate, spaces continues in the traveler's attraction to abandon buildings. The vacant Bethlehem Steel Plant stands not far from where I write this paper. My desire to explore its ghostly magic has not waned from the first day I set eyes on it. Most of these abandon places are shielded with "Do Not Enter" signs. The risk of being caught adds a heightened excitement to the intake of the space itself. The caves of prehistoric times, often housing bears and other wild animals, must have felt just as, if not more, dangerous to the ambitious adventurer. But to have actually penetrated the secret space is truly precious, a way in which one can become part of the elite. It was believed in ancient China that the further into the depths of a cave its dweller lived, the more prestigious he was. (Stein 132).

These hidden spaces are also great scenes of debauchery and physical secrets. Kings were known for retreating to their cellar for "sexual and drinking ordeals" (Stein 57). The prison lies in cavernous depths. Even the laboratory of Frankenstein is in a large underground room. The worst monster in the dark is after all always of our own creation. But on the other side of the depths of our individual darkness lies the hopeful light of a community's art.

Public Space

"The story is told of a young man who stood for a long time gazing at the portraits of the leaders and artists of Black people on the *Wall of Respect* in Chicago. When asked what he was doing, he replied, 'I'm getting energy'." (Barnett 11)

As I was researching for this paper, I began to realize that using text as my major research for a project about communication through image was absolutely ridiculous. So I began to investigate the pictures of my many books as opposed to reading the author's opinion of what they were doing. The images of community murals translate better in photography than cave paintings and catholic grottos, so I will be using them more often in this section.

First I will state some patterns one can infer after looking through a few hundred pictures of murals. First of all, many of them involve famous heroes or the proletariat as hero. Many of them contain political messages and historical content. The purpose of these murals is obviously for the artist, the community members, to establish control over their space. In *Lipstick Traces*, Greil Marcus explains how we use art to reinvent the world, especially when we place it unmistakably imposed onto the literal space of the world (Marcus 170). It is not just that they are celebrating themselves and transmitting information about themselves. By placing their art work over the buildings which define it as a community, they are taking ownership. It is the same way teenagers, in their most rebellious stages, cover their room with pictures of themselves, or rock stars that they like, images of all the things they wish to be used to define themselves.





Gathering Community Murals in San Francisco

In an article titled “Struggling artists of the Ice Age,” Paul Pettitt explains how most caves were inhabited by large carnivores, especially bears, during the Paleolithic. During this period human skulls are found with gnaw marks and many cave paintings, of carnivores, are defaced by claw marks. Nevertheless, by the Upper Paleolithic period, evidence shows that carnivores were using caves considerably less than earlier periods and no human bones which have been disturbed by animals have been found. It does not seem unlikely, in the light of this information, that early humans were using art to gain control of the space. Only then it was from nature and not “the Man.”

The analogy nonetheless may not stand up to such parallel at closer observance. In approximately 250 pages of community mural illustrations, six murals did not contain human figures. The ones that did not contain humans were either abstract or concerned with contemporary environmental issue. The anthropocentricity of these murals links to the spiritual belief that we have power over our fate. The animalistic focal point of most prehistoric cave paints implies a respect and religious elevation of the same animals in which humans were on their way to completely dominating.

These days we feel the need to place our names on structures as an small act of empowerment. “Tom was here” or “Laura loves Charlie” are carved into wooden picnic tables at school. Toilet stalls are full of names, insults, quotes, and pictures. We never write our names on the walls of our homes, we write them on our public areas like trees and schools. Graffiti artists in every city of the world, place their “tag” onto subway cars, the modern age moving canvass.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel believed that humans exist for themselves where as nature simply exists. Hegel interpreted art as bring the greatest proof of this. For humans use art to reduplicate themselves. “He [Man] observes himself, makes himself present in his imagination and thought, and only in virtue of this active power of self-realization

is he actually mind and spirit” (Hegel 400). In light of this, the cave paintings can be viewed as the part of the process of the human realization of consciousness and spirit: observing first one’s relationship with their environment as subservient and then, as the human imagination develops, dominant of nature.

While community murals bolster the little people of the community, they also combat the growing force of advertisement. This age of image is obsessed with entreating the consumer. For money is the new God, is it not? The world has become too rational to worship anything that is not at least tangible. So we have placed our greatest spirituality into this symbol. The persistence of the archaic exists in the caves relationship to money. When a child finds a cave in this day and age, he begins searching for pirate treasure. (The hidden cave that housed the climax of Walt Disney’s “The Pirates of the Caribbean” is a prime example of this more recent mythology of the cave. Its walls were painted in the light refracting off of gold coins).

For instance, look at the Lehigh Campus. There are advertisements plastered everywhere. In department buildings there are bulletin boards of information about those who inhabit the space. The painted murals that do exist are located in the bowels of Fairchild library and the ceiling of the bookstore. They are involved with education and the greater idea of education intermingling with ones imagination. There is also hanging art in Zoellner but those pieces are essentially different than mural art because they contain frame and clear disassociation from the wall. Cave paintings are completely married to the space, as mural art is. They do not seem like art merely for art’s sake.

There seem to be many murals in school settings. I remember painting one in first grade. I can still go back to the playground and point out which flower was mine. The desire to place art, our art, on the walls of our living space seems to be an instinct from an early age. It also seems to connect well with early stages of artistic growth, as if art on our walls makes so much more sense than art in museums.



Hands on Walls

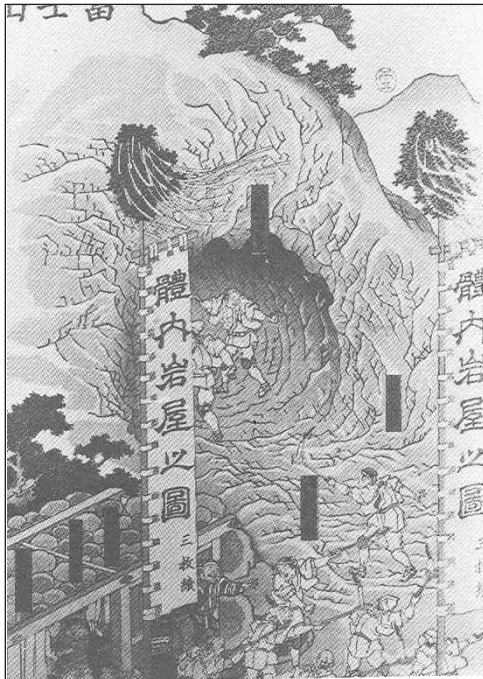


Heros on Walls





The Moving Canvas

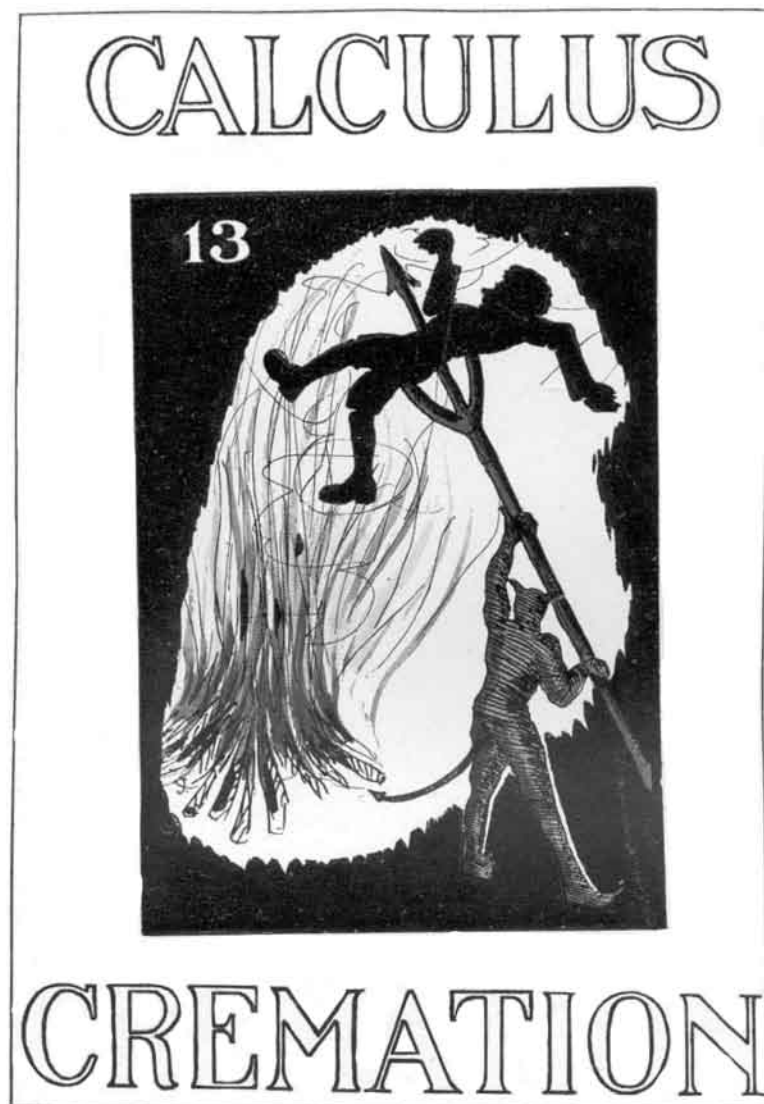


The Womb-Cave

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James Baldwin: A Supplement and a Testament

BY DAVID A. ECK

Capturing the essence of an entire life might be impossible. James Baldwin's life is no place to start trying. Instead it epitomizes the challenges a biographer faces. David Leeming's biography, *James Baldwin: A Biography*, is extensive, so extensive that it is at times confusing. It's not that Leeming's biography should have avoided the digressions who Baldwin meant and on what continent. Instead James Baldwin's life was too eventful and his works too varied and numerous for there to be a concise description.

Leeming's biography goes through his eventful life chronologically, deconstructing Baldwin's writings along the way. The novels, short stories, plays and essays are all intimately tied up with life experiences. So it's natural that Leeming thinks Baldwin's biography has to be extracted from his writings (xv). James Campbell's biography, *Talking at the Gates*, also relies heavily on Baldwin's writings, which is why the two biographies do not depart dramatically from each other. Although Leeming's narrative is more systematic than Campbell's. Leeming's biography is more systematic because it aims to capture the entirety of James Baldwin's life.

David Leeming's attempt to define who James Baldwin was is partly a result of his intimate twenty year friendship with him, an intimacy that privileged Leeming to all of Baldwin's personal papers. *James Baldwin: A Biography* also draws on interviews with friends and family, earlier biographies like Campbell's, and material collected by the PBS documentary "The Price of the Ticket." One example of Leeming's special insight into Baldwin's inner world regards the complicated relationship he had with Langston Hughes.

Baldwin and Hughes had differing political affiliations and conflicting ideas of artistic form. Leeming's biography documents the correspondence and public criticism exchanged between the two. Then Leeming tells the reader of running into Langston Hughes with Baldwin at a restaurant. The dinner conversation was long and relaxed, covering topics from Jenny Lou's (the restaurant) to the more general "Negro ambience," and finally race and art, to which Baldwin and Hughes still disagreed on. After Hughes left, Baldwin talked about his feelings concerning his fellow black artist: a great poet, but one who ignores the inner life by sentimentalizing issues" (157). Leeming's narration paints a delicate balance between admiration and disagreement.

Another revealing story was Baldwin's reaction to a sociologist. The sociologist repeatedly asked Baldwin about the number of siblings he had. He refused to acknowledge the term siblings, insisting on brothers and sisters. Eventually the argument came to a pitch when "[Baldwin] brought [his] hands down with tremendous force on my right arm and David's left arm and literally screamed...These are my brothers; not my siblings, motherfucker!" (247). Other personal stories included in *James Baldwin: A Biography* range from Baldwin berating friends and acquaintances, especially white liberals, concerning social and sexual issues to lighthearted stories, like the night in the woods with Kay Boyle.

The "city boy" Baldwin was afraid of walking through the forest at night. So during his stay at the MacDowell colony in New Hampshire Kay Boyle walked him home. One Boyle mentioned she too was uncomfortable walking at night, so Baldwin walked her home. But then how was "Jimmy" going to get home? "After much laughter...Jimmy had another drink and waited for dawn...Kay was always to remember him as he was that night in the New Hampshire woods, dancing about in the snow in his fox-fur hat, laughing and singing" (173).

These personal glimpses of James Baldwin cannot be underestimated considering the underlying philosophy of Baldwin's works, which was at its very core personal. By anchoring much of his creative work in life experiences Baldwin brought the reader into his most intimate recesses. *Go Tell It on the Mountain* epitomizes this style, setting Baldwin's stepfather into historical and cultural perspective, enabling him to treat the subject metaphorically. Eleanor Taylor has called this style "the Baldwin narrator-witness" (Leeming 89). The relationship between David Baldwin Sr. and his stepson James Baldwin is well documented by Leeming: abusive, Baldwin Sr. more than anyone else impressed upon James how love can be masked in hatred. Baldwin eventually realized that much of the hatred stemmed from the stepfather's impotence in the face of his white coworkers (Leeming 5-6).

In *The Fire Next Time*, a collection of two nonfiction essays, he writes: "One ought to earn one's death by confronting with passion the conundrum of life" (Leeming 214). The theme recurs throughout Baldwin's works:

One must say Yes to life and embrace it wherever it is found—and it is found in terrible places....For nothing is fixed, forever and forever, it is not fixed; the earth is always shifting, the light is always changing, the sea does not cease to grind down rock...the moment we cease to hold each other...the sea engulfs us and the light goes out (Leeming 227).

Leeming also quotes Baldwin as "often" saying "To escape death and love [is] to be dead already" (265). This sentiment is so simple and straightforward that it sounds dangerously clichéd and romantic, which is why echoing the sentiment, is one thing, but living it is a whole 'nother matter. Baldwin uses his stepfather to exemplify how someone can avoid coming to grips with the reality of life, and instead lets oneself be hollowed out by hatred: David Baldwin Sr. eventually went insane.

"Jimmy's" life, on the other hand, was a testament to what he preached. The closest stable home he had was in the last few years of his life in St. Paul de Vence. Baldwin went through lover after lover: "Baldwin was ever nostalgic about past lovers, willing to risk current ones in order to strike it up again" (Leeming 375). The sheer number of friends and lovers is so extensive the reader has little chance of keeping track, a weakness inherent in both David Leeming and James Campbell's biographies. The teenage lovers that James had in his latter years, whom Leeming had to use aliases to protect their identity, epitomized this problem. Repeatedly coming across the names "Jay," "Bill," "Joe," and "Skip" was more frustrating than it was illuminating.

Leeming vividly portrayed how Baldwin's life was by no means routine. The early years as a writer were marked by poverty and many late nights drinking at clubs, making friends and lovers of all genders, races and ages. Despite the biography's positive tone, Leeming makes it clear that James' life was not a romantic fairy tale. Instead it was always difficult. Baldwin had to realize that a certain extent of his loneliness was insurmountable and he would have to be happy with it.

There were four suicide attempts. The most serious was the first attempt in a French hotel room. James had just gotten out of a French prison, where he had lost his identity as a black American. Guards recognized him as an American, instead of a black American. The loss of identity was too much and after being acquitted he hung himself from a waterpipe with a bed sheet. The waterpipe broke, however, and Baldwin was bathed in "holy" water.

Not only did Baldwin attempt suicide on multiple occasions, but Leeming at length describes the many troubled relationships of his life. When James was first coming to grips with his sexuality he repeatedly found himself in abusive relationships with "ambiguously" gay men (Leeming 46). Leeming believes that Baldwin ultimately confronted this issue when a lover, Arnold, left him. Even though James had been trying to leave Arnold the confrontation led to his third suicide attempt—he contemplated drowning himself in the ocean. Baldwin was also distressed by an ever recurring dream of a stable domestic family. There was an engagement to a woman in France and also the complicated relationship with Cynthia Packard. Coming near the end of his life Baldwin said it was the closest thing he had to a marriage (365).

The emotional swings in his personal life, as well as the shifting political situation in America affected Baldwin's works. Both Leeming and Campbell acknowledge an evolution in his writings and plays. One of the most significant changes came with the novel *Nobody Knows My Name*. *The Fire Next Time* forcefully and optimistically testifies to the power of love, a value which James firmly held throughout his life. Yet Leeming believes *Nobody Knows My Name* signified the death of his early idealism about love and success (119). The death of that idealism brought on writings that were more critical and vociferous attacks on the oppressive American society. He moved onto the path of "good works" and "politics."

The title essay of *Nobody Knows My Name* was written after James' first trip to the American South. Despite his job as a journalist, the question that Baldwin was inter-

ested in more than any other was “What did racism do to the inner lives of people?” (140). Things that most journalists would not seriously consider, such as shaking hands, could be telling for Baldwin. In one interview a white supremacist was visibly discomforted by shaking hands with Baldwin, which he saw as an instance of racism’s connection to sexual insecurities (Leeming 140). There was also a white bigot who, late at night, began making sexual advances on James, furthering cementing the connection (Leeming 141).

It was at the end of this “Journey” that Leeming believes Baldwin discovered the mission of his life: the lonely existence of a witness. A witness to America’s self-denial in an effort to open America’s eyes to itself (146). Leeming thinks that from this point on, whatever Baldwin was doing “in a pulpit, in someone’s bed” he would always have that commitment in mind (147).

James Campbell, on the other hand, thinks defining Baldwin is impossible. Instead there can only be a host of sketches and perceptions that aim towards a definition (Author’s Note). To support his case Campbell emphasizes inconsistencies between in Baldwin’s beliefs and writings. One example is the Baldwin’s perception of the Negritude movement. In the ‘50s it was one of “disgust,” but after a 1962 visit to Africa Baldwin would not entertain any such thoughts.

Campbell also notes changes in Baldwin’s works. Later in his life there were fewer essays and more interviews. Baldwin began writing more about the act of writing itself. Campbell sees these developments as evidence James losing faith in writing (184). Leeming’s definition cites vivid experiences in the American South, while Campbell looks at the substance of Baldwin’s career. Campbell’s perspective is more distant than Leeming’s.

James Campbell met Baldwin through a correspondence. Campbell was soliciting articles for a literary magazine, the *New Edinburgh Review*. *New Edinburgh Review* was a small and relatively unknown literary magazine, which meant Baldwin was underpaid. Campbell is intrigued by why Baldwin agreed to write for the *Review*. He believes the Baldwin wanted get back in touch with his early days as a writer in Paris, the pre-1957 Baldwin that had a “customary good spirit”. This “customary good spirit” is the “early idealism” that Leeming spoke of. So for Leeming it wasn’t until 1957 that Baldwin had fully matured, whereas Campbell sees it as a point of decay.

Accordingly Leeming and Campbell have contrasting views of *The Evidence of Things Not Seen*, one of Baldwin’s later works. Leeming believes the long essay is to “post-civil rights” America as *The Fire Next Time* was to its America in the heyday of the movement (361). Campbell dismisses it as padded and sloppy (266). Campbell’s criticism is flat-footed. His depiction of Baldwin as paranoid of the American publishing houses for passing on *Evidence* was not convincing. Campbell also criticizes Baldwin for believing that Wayne Williams was not guilty, going on to say that James lacked the ability to do the necessary investigation to figure out whether Williams was or was not innocent.

What Campbell’s criticism misses is that, as Baldwin stated multiple times in the book, he’s not concerned with whether Williams is physically innocent or not. That is beside the larger point that he is making. Baldwin is concerned with issues such as the role of the government in the black community. What does it mean if the government only takes an active interest when the black community becomes a problem for the status quo? To underline this question Baldwin, in detail, describes Ms. Bell’s struggle to get the city government’s attention. Having black officials in the city government is useful in appeasing public demands, silencing individuals like Ms. Bell. Baldwin also notes how Ms. Bell’s insistence that she was always part of the middle class (121). *The Evidence of Things Not Seen* sketches a complex picture of modern race prejudices demonstrated by token city officials and the middle-class Ms. Bell.

The essay was broad in scope, but so was *The Fire Next Time*. The difference in reception is a result of *Evidence*’s more systematic critique of America in a time of calm. *Evidence* only mentions in passing the necessity of love and this time in order to break through the consumerism of Mr. Clean instead of just racism. *The Fire Next Time*, on the other hand, was oriented towards Baldwin’s own life, which strengthened its focus. The autobiographical essays depicted how love had unmasked racism in Baldwin’s own life.

At the same time *The Fire* was broad in its scope, critiquing the American system as a whole. Baldwin writes of the fictional creation of the Communist menace, which also relate to America’s ulterior motives behind the 1954 *Brown* decision. But these criticisms were only given in passed and released in a time of political turmoil. The change in political climate and Baldwin’s emphasis in content was decisive in the starkly different book receptions.

Leeming was not blind to Campbell’s indictments, having himself on one occasion accused Baldwin of anarchy and paranoia. In response Baldwin wrote a letter in which he declared “He could not afford to be tamed. The writer’s job was to confront life in all its complications.” Regarding the paranoia, in the same letter, Baldwin proclaimed they “are trying to kill me,” while writing the letter “Odette, [Baldwin’s] father’s daughter, was sitting with his mother, telling her—the way Beauford told his friends—about the people who were after her. And his mother had had to face the insanity of her husband” (276). This letter taken with James nearly being killed by a magician in Turkey is why Leeming “understood the larger metaphorical meaning of that near killing.” So Leeming “never accused Jimmy of anarchy or of paranoia again” (276).

James Baldwin was a real person with fears, not just an idyllic “customary good spirit,” which is why Campbell’s argument that his career declined after 1957 is not true. Leeming’s biography skillfully contests Campbell. Yet whether Baldwin is indefinable, on a mission to witness the realities of American oppression, or neither, is still a valid question. James Baldwin had distinct, but equally important, identities. Leeming himself identifies three psyches (305), which seems to undermine the idea of a single identity defining Baldwin.

Leeming's perception rests in his own intimate relations with Baldwin, especially leading up to his death. Despite cancer spreading from this throat to his stomach and liver, his strength progressively disintegrating, Baldwin never stopped making plans for future projects. It is the conclusion of Baldwin's life that solidifies Leeming's vision of it as first and foremost a witness. Whether one agrees or disagrees with this vision doesn't greatly affect the contribution that Leeming's autobiography makes. It is a well executed professional autobiography that is interspersed with brief glances at what had before only been private moments of James Baldwin's life.

It seems that the weakest point of the biography was in fact its professional quality, which treated his life so extensively that much of the tone and rhythm were lost. Watching video footage of James Baldwin is a must before reading a biography. The PBS documentary not only allows the viewer to hear the tone of Baldwin's voice, but it is also set to music, which David Leeming and James Campbell both believe was crucial to Baldwin's life. The PBS documentary is certainly no substitute for the biography, though, for much is necessarily left out and the people interviewed are predictably positive, not giving the viewer the sense of each relationship's complexity.

What would it take for a biography to do justice for James Baldwin's life? What is the best way to communicate what it meant for James Baldwin to be James Baldwin? It would have to be radically creative for a biography. The ideal biography would mirror James Baldwin's own use of metaphors to understand people and events in his life—it would do to James Baldwin's life as a whole what he himself did for parts. Such an biography is not actually possible: no one knew Baldwin as a whole because he was a lonely man. What would be ideal is a collection of literary sketches from friends and family. Baldwin himself privileged this outer perspective: "...those who love you (and those who do not love you) see you far better than you will ever see yourself" (Leeming 363).

Yet we do not need friends and family accounts to see Baldwin from without. Each time someone reads one of his novels, essays or short stories they are automatically an outside pair of eyes. If someone wants to understand James Baldwin, then it's most important to read his works. And also to see video footage of him walking, talking and lecturing with his infamously buggy eyes. A biography, even as insightful and thorough as David Leeming's is, can only be a supplement and a testament to James Baldwin's own works and the life that shaped them.

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The Death of a Sea

BY CAROL CREWDSON,
JOE ZIEMANN,
AND LEE BLANEY

"The Aral Sea must die like a soldier in battle."

POLAD-POLAD ZA

Introduction

The Aral Sea, located in the Central Asian portion of the former USSR, was once the fourth largest inland body of water in the world. Today the sea is bordered by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and has sources in six separate republics within the USSR. The sea originally had a surface area of 65,000 square kilometers, the combined size of the Netherlands and Belgium.

Beginning in the 1940s, development policies implemented by the central government of the USSR caused the systematic decline of Aral Sea levels. Flow to the Aral Sea was reduced fifty times through extensive damming for cotton irrigation. In the name of industrial progress, warning signs of ecological decline went unheeded. Within a generation, the sea shrunk by seventy percent and continues to shrink; it has become one of the largest environmental catastrophes in the world. In this paper we seek to explore the political causes, ecological effects, and remediation efforts in progress today.



Political and Theoretical Causes of Environmental Neglect

ROOT PROBLEMS

The Soviet Union had one of the worst environmental records of any industrialized country in the 20th century and the lingering, long lasting effects have left a devastating legacy. The Soviet Union once comprised one-sixth of the world's landmass. Before the

Soviet dissolution in the mid-1980s, three percent of Soviet land was considered to be in "catastrophic condition and irreparable" (Peterson, 1993). Another sixteen percent of former Soviet land is considered environmentally damaged (Peterson, 1993). The Soviet government, therefore, managed to significantly pollute almost three percent of the world. The massive levels of environmental destruction caused by the Soviet Union are a direct result of the communist political structure.

Basic Marxian philosophy is the root of the cause. Karl Marx was a product of the Industrial Revolution and failed to comprehend the dependence of humans on the natural environment. "He perceived air, water, soil, and other natural resources as sufficient to support any population under advanced forms of production if the organization of society ensured a rational valuation of these goods" (Ziegler, 1987). Marx championed technology to harness and master nature, while considering social stratification and population pressures as the causes of poverty.

THEORETICAL CAUSES

The Soviet political and economic perspective on the environment initiated the demise of the Aral Sea. Central planners fond of massive projects were supported by a no-objection submission policy. "We were in a process of preparation for war, therefore we could do everything to win and then correct mistakes later on" (Kamalov 2003). The Water Affairs Ministry was part of the GULAG (the infamous concentration camp ministry) until the late 1950s. Accordingly, the ministers saw themselves as conquerors of the environment, and adopted a warlike policy in order to "win"; however, some of their mistakes have not been so easily corrected.

The sense of urgency and purpose instilled in the central planners led to the conscious decision to sacrifice the Aral Sea for cotton production. Cotton was money and so dams and canals were built in order to divert water from the Aral Sea towards agricultural fields; the haste involved in these projects resulted in the design of a highly inefficient water distribution system. Massive unlined canals flowed through the desert sand, flood irrigation was utilized, and polluted drainage water was emptied downstream of the dams on the rivers.

COTTON INDUSTRY— UNDERSTANDING COTTON AS A NATIONAL IDENTITY

Central Asia, with its hot climate and limited precipitation, has a long history of agriculture dependent on irrigation. The Soviets discovered an extensive network of canals in the oases of the Fergana valley when they arrived. Ancient traditions were based upon thrifty water use and crop rotations to maintain the richness of the soil. Ancient peoples grew wheat, barley, millet and alfalfa as well as a variety of fruits and nuts. Under Soviet rule, cotton was introduced to Central Asia, creating an urgent need for irrigation waters. In 1917, the Soviet scientist Voeykov suggested to fully use the Amudarya and Syrdarya rivers for irrigation because the sea was a "useless evaporator" (Kamalov 2003).

Under Communist rule in the middle of the twentieth century, the Aral Sea basin

development initiative was realized. The State Planning Committee allowed particular industries to be located closest to the best area of natural resource provision. In the 1940s and 1950s, the central government decided to pursue a policy of cotton independence. The Planning Committee saw that the arid environment around the Aral Sea was perfect for cotton production due to the long, warm growing season. Cotton was considered ideal for the region, as unemployment rates were high, making worker availability plentiful.

As the cotton industry grew, its importance permeated many aspects of daily life and culture. "White Gold" gained political domination, and was carefully carved into a national identity. Central Asia was transformed into the Soviet Union's main producer of cotton.

THE PROBLEM WORSENS

A massive system of incentives developed, setting increasingly higher targets for cotton production. Soviet planners halted traditional crop rotations in order to attain these targets. Cotton became a monoculture crop dependent on the heavy use of pesticides and fertilizers to maintain sustained harvest (Weinthal). As cotton quotas increased, more land was brought into cultivation, and the amount of irrigated land increased, until irrigation became the dominant use of water in Central Asia. Today, the Central Asian republics (with the exception of Kazakhstan) depend almost entirely on irrigation for agriculture. By the 1980s, the Aral basin was producing ninety-five percent of the nation's cotton, while diverting ninety-five percent of the annual flow to the Aral Sea.

The newly irrigated lands became less suitable for growing cotton as exploitative fertilizer use exhausted soils and decreased flow to the sea salinized groundwaters. Even though the amount of water available for irrigation increased, the yields and quality of cotton declined.

SEALING THE FATE OF THE ARAL SEA

The Water Ministry made the deliberate decision to sacrifice the Aral Sea for the sake of cotton production. Polad-Polad Zade, the First Deputy of the ministry, said, "the Aral Sea will die a glorious death" (National Geographic 1990). "Experts believed this a worthwhile tradeoff: a cubic meter of river water used for irrigation, they calculated, would be more economically beneficial than the same volume diverted to the Aral Sea" (Pryde, 1991). "Crops on this land could yield a profit of 750 million rubles, while disappearance of the sea would merely result in loss of sixty million rubles in fish and ten million rubles in muskrat skins" (Goldman, 1972).

However, Soviet economists failed to include the losses incurred by accumulating environmental damage in their calculations. Environmental degradation is considered a negative externality because the degradation arises indirectly from the industrial process. In an advancing market economy, industries can be held responsible for damages caused by externalities to private property and public health through lawsuits.

In a Communist society, the community as a whole absorbs damage, since everyone “owns” the environment; therefore, there is less incentive to mitigate damage because pollution is more profitable. Profits of industry are theoretically shared by all, while environmental pollution affects only a select few.

INEFFICIENT WATER USE

The Soviets developed an extensive and inefficient system of dams and canals. Due to the absence of proper lining, the lengthy Karakum Canal lost almost fifty percent of its water volume. However, this loss is not extraordinary as approximately forty-six percent of the diverted water in the Aral basin irrigation distribution system is lost en route.

In 1970, a resolution was passed that made water use free to almost every source. Since free water provided no incentive for consumers to conserve water, rights were exploited. Similarly, with no economic losses being imposed on the end users or distributors, no move was initiated to increase the system's efficiency.

STRUCTURAL BARRIERS TO RECOGNIZING THE PROBLEM

The structure of Soviet environmental authority proved a contributor to the Aral Sea problem as communication between agencies often proved difficult. Shortly after development began in the 1960s, negative environmental effects were observed, prompting some scientists to predict disaster. The bureaucracy was too fragmented to make coherent policy and enforcement decisions and Soviet environmental committees did not have the powers needed to stop industrial projects which they saw as environmentally dangerous. The disaster was not averted.

The group in charge of environmental enforcement, the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control (GIDROMET) is a union body, which does not have override power in policy creation and final decisions. Union government bodies function at the level of the separate republics of the USSR, which are similar to state governments in the U.S. However, in the Communist system, union governments do not have the same level of autonomy as states do, essentially “taking orders” from the central government. Additionally, GIDROMET does not have full control over all environmental areas. Instead the system is fractured into specific ministries (fishing, agriculture, etc.), which struggle to act unilaterally and create policies at the national level for GIDROMET to enforce at the union level. “Thus, the union republics function more as administrative agencies than as true federal units holding substantive legislative power” (Ziegler, 1987). The main enforcement agency (GIDROMET) was not closely tied to the policy-making bodies in the central government. In the U.S., the state level Department of Environmental Protection is centralized and has the power to make overriding decisions to halt environmental damages. The Soviet structure lacks a system of checks and balances that give voice and power to varying interests. The Politburo and Central Committee were supremely interested in the advancement of Soviet power, and in the end had the final say in any environmental

Figure 2: Social and Environmental Paradigms (Ziegler 1987)

DOMINANT SOCIAL PARADIGM	ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIAL PARADIGM
1. Maximize economic growth	1. Continue economic growth
2. Preserve centralized planning, rapid completion of plans	2. Improve central planning to eliminate waste, plan for unforeseen effects of economic activity, go-slow approach
3. Retain hierarchical structure of ministries and departments, but reduce departmentalism	3. Create centralized environmental protectional agency to reduce negative impacts of departmentalism
4. Promote science and technology for economic growth	4. Promote science and technology with greater attention to solving environmental problems
5. Strengthen Party control and guidance over economy and society; maintain existing distribution of political power	5. Accept Party guidance, but urge greater Party attention to environmental problems
6. Greater reliance on specialists and experts, with Party having final decision	6. Final decisions on environmental questions to be made by experts and specialists, eliminate political considerations

matter (Figure 2). “Soviet republics often find themselves at a disadvantage in dealing with polluting industries. Many of the largest industries – defence, chemical and petroleum, steel, coal mining, metallurgy – are administered directly from Moscow. These high-level ministries can often evade the authority of a republic's Communist Party Committee” (Ziegler 1987).

The tight control the Central Committee and Politburo had over political power insured that social paradigms always had victory over environmental paradigms. This chain of command led to the extreme ecological effects of the Aral Sea disaster.

Ecological Consequences

The ecological and associated human health concerns of the Aral Sea in relation to the Soviet decision to dam the Amudarya and Syrdarya rivers are many. The Syrdarya historically supplied approximately thirty percent of the sea's water; however, by the late 1970s, no water from the Syrdarya reached the sea (Glantz, 1999). Waters from the larger river, the Amudarya, were largely diverted from drainage into the sea towards supplying water into the Karakum Canal; in the late 1980s there were a number of years with no Amudarya water reaching the sea.

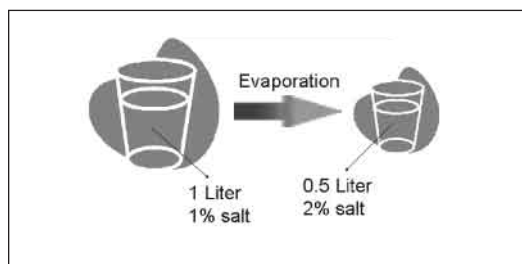
Decreasing water levels had detrimental effects on the lake, the local population, and the surrounding area. This three-fold effect is self evident, as any effect on the lake will directly affect the economy and health of the population centers bordering the water. As the lake dries up, its chemistry is altered; therefore, groundwater recharge from the lake will result in changes to the adjacent land.

THE LAKE

As less water was entering the lakes, the effects of evaporation (remember this area is part of a desert biome) were heavily amplified. From the original damming in the 1940s to the present, the water level decreased approximately 20.9 meters, with the water volume dropping from 1089 km³ to 108 km³ (Nihoul, 2004).

The laws of physics dictate that if a certain volume of water has a corresponding salinity, evaporation of a certain percent of that water will increase salinity (Figure 4). Therefore, the massive water loss described above spurred a rapid salination of the sea,

Figure 4: Conservation of Mass



accompanied by the degeneration of the sea into two lakes, large and small. These events resulted in salt concentrations exceeding eight percent and two percent respectively (original salinity was one percent). Close to eighty percent of the total water volume is accounted for by the large lake, which now has a salinity over two times greater than the ocean (Nihoul, 2004).

Increasing salinity has had a detrimental effect on fish populations in the sea due to the inability of the original freshwater fish species to tolerate high salt contents. The effect on fish was first observed in 1971 when salinity reached 1.2 percent. Karpevich observed in a 1975 report that the [1971] growth rates of many fish slowed down, causing increased death rates; numerous morphological aberrations were also documented (Glantz, 1999). When salinity reached 1.4 percent in the mid-1970s, reproductive processes of all existing fish species were disturbed. By the mid-1980s, all commercially profitable fish species were eradicated (Glantz, 1999).

THE PEOPLE

The disintegration of the Aral Sea has greatly affected the surrounding population. These people lived in the region for hundreds, if not thousands of years, and adapted to the prescribed environment. They grew dependent on the sea for survival. Upon the collapse of the fishing industry, the region was catapulted into economic desperation and failing health, a ruthless combination. This amalgamation created a

domino effect whereby the deterioration of life conditions directly resulted in poor waste treatment practices (Glantz, 1999). With more wastes being released into the diminishing lake waters, disease rates swelled. Studies from 1988-1989 have shown that nearly two-thirds of the population suffer from various pathologies and that that rate is on the rise (Glantz, 1999).

The rates with which disease rose are quite astounding. Water borne pathogens such as enterobiasis (pinworms) and hymenolepidosis had morbidity rates which rose 370 percent and twenty-nine percent respectively in certain regions. Hepatitis B rates have increased by approximately 800 percent. Inflated disease incidence and morbidity rates have been observed for many diseases (Glantz, Nihoul, and Bos). Clearly, the decreasing water quality and absence of proper nutritional supplements caused the rapid degradation of human health.

The sea was originally dammed in order to grow cash crops (cotton) enhanced by chemical pesticides and fertilizers. Runoff from farmland introduced these chemicals into the watershed and eventually to the lake itself. Upon entering the highly concentrated salt lakes, these chemicals were precipitated out of solution and deposited on the lakebed. Therefore, as the dry lakebed was being exposed, a mechanism for the transport and dispersal of salt, pesticide, and other waste (toxic chemicals, synthetic surfactants, phenols, oil products, etc.) particles was evolved.

Open to the elements, these particles found their way into toxic dust and salt storms that have bombarded the surrounding communities. Throughout the 1980s, these dust storms have increased in size and occurrence, with salt removal from the dried sea-bed estimated at forty to 150 million tons per hectare (Glantz, 1999). A seventy-five percent decrease in surface area translates to about five million hectares, making the spread of sickness and disease inevitable.

The health hazards can be characterized by the subsequent diseases, which often occur. Diseases such as the measles and polio have seen increased incidence rates of seventy-nine percent and 450 percent respectively. While the transport of airborne pathogens is severe, the effects of dust and salt on respiratory systems are critical. Between 1981 and 1987, deaths associated with acute infection of a respiratory organ increased almost three fold. During the same time period, cancers of the liver, esophagus, and digestive system intensified (Glantz, 1999).

THE LAND

The natural ecology of the Aral Sea has been devastated; the health of humans has been significantly threatened and endangered. Furthermore, the surrounding land has been changed to such a degree so as to disable its use for future generations. This ruin has taken place through four main processes: desertification of the immediate area, climate change associated with the retreat of the sea, the salting of the ground and mineralization of groundwater.

Groundwater levels have dropped roughly twenty meters with the sea level, leaving little water in the upper reaches of soil. This progression has led to increased erosion of

the natural soils. Dispersal of eroded soils and the exposed sediment in the dry seabed has resulted in the desertification of the Aral Sea region. This process makes the way and conditions of life very difficult to sustain.

A large lake such as the Aral Sea greatly affects the climate of the surrounding land. During the summer months, the waters allow for cooler temperatures; the lake gives off heat and exudes warmer temperatures during winter months. As the lake has withdrawn, temperatures have fled towards the extremes. Winters are now much colder, and summers much hotter. These relatively extreme temperatures have assisted in the desertification process and affect farming and harvesting practices.

The assertion of the conservation of mass was made earlier to demonstrate that as water levels drop, salinity increases. Because the sea was the chief source of ground-water recharge, the groundwater has become highly mineralized. Mineralization of groundwater diminishes drinking water supplies and causes the salting of land as waters levels fall. Salting land is an old Roman technique of making sure that a defeated city would never return. The salt destroys any ability for crops or vegetation to grow. Waters diverted from the Amudarya River were diverted into the Karakum Canal; this canal runs for over 1300 km, with approximately 1150 km of unlined bed (Bos, 1996). The unlined bed allows for the deposition of salts into agriculture soils, which ruins crops and renders soil fruitless. Salt flats have also formed upon old wetlands areas due to the decreasing water levels. Through the mineralization of groundwater and irresponsible and inefficient use of unlined canals, the people of the Aral Sea basin are salting their own land.

The effects of this tragedy went beyond ecological consequences. The everyday lives of the indigenous people and the future of their children was jeopardized.

Socio-political Effects

The USSR underwent massive political restructuring under Michael Gorbachev in the early 1980s. Gorbachev's famous policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) were steps towards less restricting and oppressive government activities. These two policies had major implications in Central Asia.

Under *glasnost*, the Aral Sea problem could be discussed openly for the first time. As the world population became aware of the dramatic rise in health and environmental problems caused by Soviet Policies, political grass roots movements began to form.

Under *perestroika*, the "cotton scandal" was unearthed. To meet the ever-increasing cotton demands from Moscow, an extensive network of bribes and kickbacks developed to falsify production data. This revelation surfaced in the mid 1980s. Nine million tons of cotton reportedly delivered turned out to be a fabrication by thousands of power elites. This disclosure produced major upheaval in the upper ranks of government.

Cotton production continued to decline, and Soviet planners began to encourage environmental protection as a means to improve efficiency. The nationalist grass roots movements considered the cotton culture as a manifestation of Soviet control. These movements felt that workers were victimized by policies from Moscow that forced

them to falsify data to keep up with increasing demands, only to be punished for those actions later.

SHIFTING BORDERS

The dissolution of the Soviet Union caused the Aral Sea to shift from a domestic problem to an international one. The watershed is now shared by five multiethnic and religiously diverse countries, all dependent on surface water sources. The current borders were drawn in the 1920s, without consideration for geographic formations. This decision had major ecological consequences. The Amudarya is shared by Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, as well as part of the border of Afghanistan. The Syrdarya extends across Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan. The Aral Sea now lies between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

When the Soviet satellite states first achieved independence, there was widespread negativity regarding the future of the Aral Sea. Geographer David Smith said in 1995, "nowhere in the world is the potential for conflict over the use of natural resources as strong as in Central Asia" (Weinthal, p. 7). These apprehensions came with good reason, as the newly independent nations saw their subsidies cut off, and an upsurge in ethnic conflict, such as the riots in the Fergana Valley just prior to independence. However, major national conflict did not arise and the states embarked on a path of cooperation, even in their transitional government phase.

THE PROBLEM PERSISTS

The ecological changes in the Aral basin have affected the population in varied and complicated ways. The total population of those who rely on the watershed are thirty-four million and growing rapidly, with conflicting interests between the people upstream, midstream, and downstream.

HEALTH EFFECTS

Hardest hit by the health effects mentioned above are the people downstream, in the areas closest to the Aral Sea, such as the semiautonomous region of Uzbekistan, Karakalpakistan. In Uzbekistan between 1980 and 1987 the number of hospitalized people increased from 21.8 to 26.3 percent, including an increase from 20.2 to 24.9 in Karakalpakistan. Since the mid 1970s, mortality rates have increased fifteen times. (Glazovsky, 2002) There has been an increase in digestive diseases such as gallbladder and gallstone disease, chronic gastritis, nephritis, and esophageal cancer. However, it is difficult to separate out the deaths caused by environmental remediation and those caused by inadequate medical attention.

Children and women are hardest hit by some of the health effects (Table 1) as they were extensively used in raising cotton. During the Soviet era, children were taken out of school to work during the cotton harvest. Due to the use of pesticides, the environmental risks are higher for those who worked in the fields. Children and teens also make up a disproportionate amount of the population. In 1989, the seminar "Problems

Table 1
Infant Mortality (the number of children
who died at age 1 or less per 1,000)

Country	1970	1986
Uzbekistan	31.0	46.2
Kyrgyzstan	45.4	38.2
Tajikistan	45.9	46.7
Turkmenistan	46.1	58.2
Kazakhstan	25.9	29.0
USSR	24.7	25.4

of the Aral Sea and Aral Area,” recorded that sixty percent of the children in Nukus, Uzbekistan, and sixty-four percent of the children in Karakalpakistan were suffering from some health problem. Between 1970 and 1986, the number of children’s clinics grew 2.6 times in Turkmenistan, 2.9 times in Tajikistan, and 3.5 times in Uzbekistan (Glazovsky 2002).

Near the Aral Sea, especially in the Bozatau section of Karakalpakistan, infant mortality rates exceed eleven percent as compared to approximately 3.5 percent in other areas. Between 1970 and 1985, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan had the highest levels of infant mortality on the whole observed in the USSR (Glazovsky 2002).

Clean water supplies are severely limited; thirteen percent of the water sampled from open reservoirs and thirty-seven percent of food was found contaminated with pesticides to the point of being unfit for human consumption. Sampling of piped water revealed that state bacterial standards were unmet in twenty-five out of forty-seven cases. Ninety percent of the rural population gets their drinking water from the irrigation network (Glazovsky 2002).

THE FISHING INDUSTRY

In the deltas of the Amudarya and Syrdarya, a fishing industry flourished that has been totally annihilated. Historically the fishing industry used to bring in 40,000 to 60,000 fish per year, while employing approximately 500,000 people. A striking and bleak example of this demise is Moynaq, which was once a flourishing city and shipping port. Hundreds of ships came through every day, a large canning industry developed, and the city became a picturesque vacation spot in Central Asia. Moynaq is now eighty miles from the sea. As the waters began to recede, fishermen dug canals further and further each year until they finally abandoned their boats in the sand. In an effort to keep the canning industry alive, Soviet planners flew in fish from hundreds

of miles away for over ten years. The collapse of this industry caused the collapse of the economy in the greater Nukus region.

ECONOMIC LOSSES

An environmental disaster of this magnitude is difficult to measure, but a few researchers have tried to estimate some of the financial costs over the years. In 1973, researchers at the Institute of Water Problems in the USSR Academy of Sciences predicted a decrease in annual gross income of fifteen to thirty million Roubles in the Aral Sea Basin. In 1980, the annual income losses were estimated at 92.6 million Roubles for the lower part of the Amudarya alone. The collapse has had a trickle down effect on the local economy, leading to widespread workforce emigration. The unemployment rate remains the highest in Uzbekistan at about eighteen percent (Pyle 2004). Economic costs of fixing the problem are even steeper with current estimates exceeding thirty-seven billion Roubles. There are other costs that are harder to measure such as the cost of medical services and loss of agricultural productivity. However, while the estimates for economic losses grow, the resources available to mitigate the crisis are steadily decreasing.

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

Unfortunately, while those downstream are still being victimized, independence has exacerbated rather than calmed some of the problems. There is still extensive agriculture and cotton production midstream, and the states are slow to modify inefficient water systems or use more water efficient agricultural techniques. Today, flood irrigation is still the most common means of irrigation, with only 1.5 percent of all arable land in the basin irrigated by sprinklers.

Upstream states are beginning to assert ownership rights. One of the first major conflicts is over the Toktogul Reservoir. Kyrgyzstan controlled the Toktogul Reservoir, which was the largest dam on the Naryn River, a tributary of the Syrdarya. The reservoir had been constructed initially by central government planners to meet irrigation needs downstream. Uzbekistan farmers were used to getting free water under the former government, and Kyrgyzstan’s energy needs were supplemented by Uzbekistan’s oil and gas reserves. When cheap outside energy supplies began to wane, Kyrgyzstan had winter energy shortages and started using the plant to generate electricity. This caused a lack of flow during the spring and summer months, when it was most needed for agriculture in downstream Uzbekistan.

Kyrgyzstan was also in a severe economic crisis. The head of the Energy and Natural Resources division said, “Uzbekistan should pay for the water if they want to maintain an irrigation regime. Kyrgyzstan should sell water or at least exchange water for gas.” The upper echelons of the government echoed this. An agreement was reached, with Uzbekistan trading oil for water with Kyrgyzstan, but the situation remains tenuous.

Torn by years of war, Afghanistan has not used its fair share of the water. When

stability settles on the region, an increased demand will be placed on the Amudarya river system. This possibility could increase conflict in downstream states.

INTERNATIONAL EFFORT

Fortunately, these states have not collapsed into chaos. There has been notable diplomatic progress towards solving the problem, and the states have shown a remarkable capacity to work together. The first agreement was signed in February 1992, concerning water management, utilization and protection in the transitional government period and the creation of an agency called the Interstate Commission for Water Coordination. The heads of state met again in Qyzlorda, Kazakhstan in March 1993, to sign an agreement on solving the problems of the Aral Basin. In 1994 they approved an action plan addressing the basic medical needs of the basin and outlined a plan for economic development.

In 1996 the states renewed their commitment to water sharing in the Nukus Declaration, strengthening international institutions for joint water management. This was further improved in March 1998, when the prime ministers signed a water sharing agreement on the Syrdarya River.

Currently, the main international organization overseeing the Aral Sea is the International Fund to Save the Aral Sea (IFAS). Unfortunately, international collaboration has only produced modest changes. The mentality that led to the desiccation of the countries has been slow to change since many people addressing the problems on the new committees are the same people that headed the ministries that caused the problem.

Conclusion

Shortsighted policies developing cotton as a monoculture crop, and wasteful water systems have caused environmental destruction on a massive scale. The Aral Sea has died as an ecosystem, and is continuing to decrease in size. More than forty species of fish have disappeared from the two rivers. The flora and fauna around the Aral Sea have been seriously reduced. The climate in the Aral Sea Region and the mountains has changed. There are hotter and longer summers, colder and longer winters. Forests along the rivers were cut down or perished due to lack of water. Hundreds of lakes near the former seabed have vanished, while hundreds of artificial dams and reservoirs have appeared upstream. Over-irrigation has caused soil salting. Environmental degradation has caused large-scale water shortages and contamination, as well as terrible dust storms. These consequences have had massive economic and health impacts on the people closest to the sea, with a higher health impact on women and children. The problem has left a difficult legacy behind with conflicts upstream and a growing population putting further demands on an already over-burdened system.

Catastrophes like the Aral Sea occur when human impact on the environment is clinically disregarded. Environmental disasters have happened all over the world, including in the United States, but they were made worse in the former USSR, and

in any society where the population affected is stifled and ignored. However, the problem will not be solved by blindly blaming the past. The states involved have left the root causes of the problem largely unaddressed, while wondering what to do with the affected population. Massive political effort has not led to great remediation of the current problem. More drastic improvements and concessions need to be adopted soon to prevent the problem from getting worse. States must give up some water rights in order to lead to the greater good.

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The Influence of Democracy on Religion in America

BY ALEXANDER CAUTERUCCI

"[It is because of] our nation's close relationship with the Almighty [that] our rights come from God." These are the words of President George W. Bush, the most powerful man in the world, and leader of a nation with no national religion.

Our rights come from God? In 1990, President George H. W. Bush, our current President's father, (41) announced that he didn't think that atheists were full citizens of the United States¹. How can this be? This is a far contradiction to the advice of Thomas Jefferson to "question with boldness even the existence of a god."² So Jefferson, a founding father, would most likely be just as outraged and baffled as I am. How did our nation arrive at this confused state? How did our once secular country find itself so plagued with enormous controversy over the conflicts between religion and democracy? It was not always like this. We will examine this issue more closely later, but first we must begin where the United States began, at a time when a distinction did not have to be made, so that we can understand how we evolved into this crippled state. Religion's impact on America surpasses just their beliefs; churches, specifically have been responsible for establishing hospitals, nursing homes, schools, universities, childcare programs, concepts of human dignity, and most importantly the concept of democracy. We will begin with our founders and a very wise Frenchman Monseieur de Tocqueville.

The founders were careful to keep the nation free from an oppressive religion that dominated European nations. The Church had grown so overbearing in Europe that it had stifled the birth of individual liberties. Knowing full well of this danger, the founders did not mention God at all in the Constitution. Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, and perhaps the most vocal of his beliefs on religion and democracy said of the matter:

believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God; that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship; that the legislative powers of the government reach actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should make no law respecting an

establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, thus building a wall of separation between church and State. Adhering to this expression of the supreme will of the nation in behalf of the rights of conscience, I shall see with sincere satisfaction the progress of those sentiments which tend to restore man to all of his natural rights, convinced he has no natural right in opposition to his social duties.³

Jefferson acted on his conviction that public funding not be spent on religion by refusing to build a church or have a professorship of divinity at the University of Virginia⁴. According to author Robert Tracinski, a member of The Ayn Rand Institute, The Center for the Advancement of Objectivism, “Jefferson knew that the protection of the citizens’ freedom—not the monitoring of their ‘relationship with the Almighty’—is the only proper concern of the government.” It was around this time, when America was maturing as a nation in its own right and developing its own identity, that a foreign ambassador recorded in great detail on this American Experiment.

Alexis de Tocqueville, a French observer of the American Experiment, witnessed this anomaly of a nation firm in its roots in democracy yet with branches moving freely without the restrictions of religion. Tocqueville, a French aristocrat, studied philosophy and law. Later, as a court official, he visited the United States under the pretenses of studying the American prison reforms, and carefully observed the unique American political system⁵. In 1835 he published the first part of *Democracy in America* regarding the importance of religion in a democracy. Tocqueville’s section titled *Influence of Democracy on Religion* offers his insight on the state of religion in a democratic environment.

Tocqueville believed that “the first political institution of American democracy is religion.” Religion, according to Tocqueville, established three critical elements of democracy: a sense of dignity, freedom, and universal equality for each person. Tocqueville noted this when he wrote, “I doubt whether man can ever support at the same time complete religious independence and entire political freedom.”⁶ So in this contemporary time of supposed religious independence and political freedom we shall examine the validity of Tocqueville’s predictions and demonstrate whether they were in fact prophetic.

The influence of religion, however, is impossible to strip from a country, and it is because of this influence that religion slowly contaminated the purity of our great nation. The freedom of choice that this democracy granted its citizens diluted the oppression that religion was force feeding. Sadly, as religion infected our system it has blurred the distinction of what is right in the eyes of the law and what is right in the eyes of God. The need to make such a decision is evidence alone of how tightly religion and democracy are intertwined. Democracy is a machine fueled and empowered by the people it serves. Karl Marx, the 19th century “philosopher” whose ideas established socialism, called religion “the opium of the masses.” According to Marx, religion is an expression of material realities and economic injustice. Thus, problems in religion

are ultimately problems in society. Religion is not the disease, but merely a symptom of greater problems. It is a tool used by the oppressors to distract citizens from social inequality and exploitation⁷. The issues I will focus on will illustrate how the role of religion in a democracy has augmented into an enveloping conflict between respecting the doctrines of both religion and democracy.

To first examine De Tocqueville’s claims we must understand his perspective and apply it to contemporary examples. According to de Tocqueville, “the chief concern of religion is to purify, to regulate, and to restrain the excessive and exclusive taste for well-being which men feel at periods of equality.”⁸ This idealistic opinion on the purpose of religion is quite consistent with beliefs of de Toqueville’s era, and even the faithful would agree with this today. However, it is not that optimistic; religion’s role does not simply end here; it extends further, instilling fear into the faithful and establishing control over them. The incessant fear of damnation forever looms in the minds of the scrupulous. For all the hope religion grants all persons, both common and prominent, it was religion that branded the fear of an eternal nightmarish Hell to all those who “sin.” It is my intention to redefine what religion is to our contemporary society and evaluate what it has done to our once pure nation, and in doing so I will revise and amend what Toqueville failed to foresee.

Religion today, much like Tocqueville predicted, is in fact inseparable from most people. Contrary to what many would think, religion in America today is extremely powerful. A recent study held by The George H. Gallup International Institute for William Moss reveals that Americans’ concerns about society, democracy and the future are profoundly influenced and contingent upon their beliefs about God. The study found that 61% of Americans believe that a democracy would crumble without the widespread belief in God or a Supreme Being. It is also estimated that each month 60% of Americans attend their house of worship. Most Americans claim to believe in a God or universal spirit, and currently levels of attested religious belief are extremely high⁹. Most Americans also believe that their personal God watches over and judges them, as well as performs miracles and makes their presence known at times of need throughout one’s life. Formal education and industrialization are among the highest in the United States, but so are religious beliefs. However, in most other countries, as formal education increases, there is an inverse, and levels of religious beliefs are lower.

To understand how religion has endured throughout the past century, it is important to evaluate the trends and the progressive growth and decline of religion decade by decade. The most significant swings in religious life in the United States occurred during the last sixty to seventy years. Following the Second World War, there was a dramatic increase in church membership, attendance, Bible reading, donations to churches, and building of churches. This upswing was strong until the late 1950s and early 1960s when a decline in religious interest and involvement spread across the nation. The Princeton Religion Research Center Index recently showed that religious belief and practice in America was highest during the 1950s, prior to the social upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, which raised doubt in religion and subsequently hurt most religious

institutions¹⁰. The study's figures identify the contemporary American religious numbers to be very similar to the 1930s and 1940s. According to George Gallup, Jr.

The religious liberty most Americans cherish and celebrate has enabled religion to flourish in many forms, and to become a profound shaper of the American character. Religious liberty has contributed vitality and vigor to the American outlook—an exuberance, a feeling that anything is possible—and often, the courage to bring about difficult but needed changes in society.¹⁰

Today the United States finds itself at a crossroads between pursuing future advancements through development of better technology and improved science while struggling to uphold and preserve our past and tradition. These two diverging paths are the source of America's trouble. Our society has become so enveloped by religion that we as a nation are once again restrained by conflicting beliefs. What Jefferson did not realize is that although there may not be one religion that dominates, there may, however, be individuals in power with a common religion that influences their decisions and the direction our country moves in. Tocqueville covered this threat in *Democracy in America* when he wrote: "the majority always commands belief," and because of this they respect only that which "is not contrary to the faith." It is this direction, guided by our elected officials and the visionaries of today, that will decide how much of our tradition will be abandoned to pay respect to others' beliefs, and what endeavors we will pursue without disrespecting or dishonoring the religion of others.

Religion has reemerged in our society as an inhibitor, which thwarts and blocks efforts of science in controversial issues. Science has become so sophisticated and complex that the common practices of doctors today, such as removing cancerous tumors and restarting stopped hearts, were acts that people believed only God could have performed a few decades ago. The United States has grown so rapidly in the field of medicine and biological research that the question of what is ethical quickly surfaces. Although it is right to question every decision made, discontinuing research and practices on the basis of religion alone is undoubtedly very wrong, and challenges the liberties that our Constitution grants us.

Science continues to defy religion every day. In fact, science is slowly corroding the belief of the young and raising both doubt and outrage across the nation. Ever since the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, the Theory of Evolution has become more and more convincing. Evolution is the transformation over a long period of time from one species to another, and is far more than merely a theory; it is a blatant contradiction to Creationism, the belief that God created man, and is far too controversial to be declared a fact. Today evolution is the central theory of biology, and is an invaluable tool for explaining the presence of millions of fossils and similar evidence, such as the fact that chimpanzee's DNA is 98% identical to humans, about the origins of life forms.¹¹

Throughout the 20th century Creationists have shunned the issue of evolution, totally rejecting it without considering the tremendous evidence that supports it. Enforcement of a Tennessee statute that prohibited teaching the theory of evolution in public school classrooms was addressed in the "Scopes Monkey Trial" of 1925. It was the court's intention to decide whether or not the First Amendment permitted states to ban teaching of a theory that contradicted religious beliefs. Finally, in 1968 the Court ruled in *Epperson vs. Arkansas* that such bans violate the Establishment Clause because their primary purpose is religious. This same rationale was used by the Court in the 1987 case of *Edwards vs. Aguillard* to remove a Louisiana law that mandated biology teachers who taught the theory of evolution to also discuss evidence supporting creation science, or Creationism.¹²

The issue was not settled then. For example, in 1999, the Kansas Board of Education voted to remove evolution from the list of subjects tested on state standardized tests, in effect encouraging local school boards to consider dropping or putting less emphasis on evolution. In 2000, Kansas voters responded to the proposed change by throwing out enough anti-evolution Board members to restore the old science standards. Even more recently, in 2002, the state of Ohio, which currently is considering changes in its science material, had similar conflicts over the issue of evolution being taught in schools.¹³ Though the controversy over evolution is a matter that focuses our attention on the developments of the past, the decisions we are faced with today are what will initiate the developments of our future.

Within the past decade a major headlining issue is one over stem cells research, which reaches out to every citizen. Scientists, through the use of private funding, have found considerable evidence that undifferentiated stem cells, which come from human embryos, could be used to develop possibly every kind of tissue. The application of this technology could heal spinal cord injuries, Alzheimer's patients, juvenile diabetes - the possibilities are abounding. There is little controversy over the fact that stem cells do hold a tremendous amount of potential for developing cures and saving lives. However, it is the obtaining of such cells that has sparked the most outrage. The acquisition of such cells is considered by some as the "harvesting human life." These human embryos are the remaining embryos of in vitro fertilization, used to help couples conceive who cannot do so on their own. Usually the remaining embryos are destroyed, but some are donated to labs for research. So why not, then, use these cells to save life rather than destroy them?

Religion has taught people to respect human life, and the question of when an embryo is considered life is asked. The religious, especially Christians, are the most outraged by this practice, believing it to be the destruction of human life, although the cells would otherwise be destroyed. The fear of cells being produced solely for the purpose of testing is what scares most.

On August 9, 2001 President George W. Bush formally commented on the issue and announced that government funding would be provided for 60 existing stem cell lines and \$250 million on researching the use of umbilical cord placenta as a

source for stem cells, but no more funding on new stem cells from excess embryos. A council chaired by Dr. Leon Kass, a leading biomedical ethicist from the University of Chicago, was appointed by the President to recommend appropriate guidelines and regulations¹⁴. Many researchers in the field, however, assert that the remaining stem cell lines' quality is in too poor of a condition to produce substantial results. To circumvent the President's federal limits on stem cell research, voters agreed in California to create a \$3 billion fund to finance research on embryonic stem cells.¹⁵ Other states have followed California's lead by developing similar programs.

Stem cell research and procedural application are issues that will remain feverishly contested for years to come, and many believe that the future of science will prosper from the breakthroughs of stem cell use. These cells could restore lives by healing injuries, and if nothing more, could inspire those who presently cannot be treated with the hope that one day their lives may be restored using stem cells. However, the conviction of those who oppose stem cell use believe the preservation of human life goes to be paramount, and due to religion and the imposed ethics that have tormented our nation with indecisiveness. Often not doing anything is more harmful than doing something, and this may be the case with stem cells

On the opposite side of the spectrum is the concern of destroying human life not for the use of science but for the practice of abortion. Abortion is a topic publicly condemned by the Catholic Church as well as many including George W. Bush who believes it to be morally wrong. Abortion was illegal in the United States until the Supreme Court's decision in the 1973 case *Roe vs. Wade*¹⁶. Realizing the danger of this decision being overturned, on April 25, 2004, over one million protesters gathered in the National Mall to show their support for abortion rights and to oppose President Bush's policies on women's health issues. Celebrities such as Whoopi Goldberg, Ashley Judd, Kathleen Turner, philanthropist Ted Turner, feminist icon Gloria Steinem, and former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright all proudly spoke to protest President Bush's prospective abortion policies¹⁷. President Bush seeks to cut government funding for family planning agencies that discuss abortion possibilities with patients. It is the rights that extend to all citizens that are threatened by the faith of a minority, who seek to curtail the American liberty of choice.

The limits religion imposes on our democracy do not only restrain the growth of science, but they oppress our growth as a more diverse society. Democracy has afforded citizens the right of choice, and with this choice people have found new veins of individuality from which to deviate from the rest of society, to find their own niche and individuality. Individuality is promoted by democracy, but assaulted by religion. Religion instead promotes conformity and submission to what is deemed right by the Church and by God. What is conservative and conventional is what is right according to religion. Today, in the United States, people are free to live as they choose to. They may exercise any right, hold any job, celebrate any religion, and practice any sexuality. Sexuality was not a concern of the founding fathers. However, the late twentieth century was an explosion of homosexual acceptance movements, blatantly in opposition to religion, and more specifically Christianity.

Today in the United States homosexuals may live as they choose to, but marriage remains illegal. In 2004, the eleven states of Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, Ohio, Oklahoma, North Dakota, Utah and Oregon voted on whether or not to ban same-sex marriages resulting in an overwhelmingly wide margin in each state banning the marriages. Robert Knight, director of the Culture and Family Institute believes that "the marriage issue was the great iceberg of this election...most people saw only the tip and didn't realize the great mass was affecting races all over the country, right up to the presidential contest."¹⁸ The right of marriage is one that all heterosexual Americans are granted. They may marry whoever whenever they decide. The Constitution does not specify that this right is denied to homosexuals. However, gay marriages are not recognized by the government. The overwhelmingly decisive vote against permitting same-sex marriages is evidence enough of the American reticence influenced by religion. Americans' unwillingness to respect the lifestyles and values of others is what keeps our country divided. If two men pay their taxes, volunteer, drive the speed limit, and do not violate any laws, then why should they be punished because of their lifestyle? Why must homosexuals be excluded from the right to marry? Where in the Constitution, the basis of our laws, does it specify that homosexuals would not be granted this right? It is an outrage that homosexuals are so overtly discriminated against, and at the center of this injustice is religion.

Religion inevitably finds itself deeply embedded in politics as well. Due to the large struggle between ethics and morals in our country, religion, although not forced upon anyone, is impossible to divorce from politics. According to the *Sunday Herald*, "on one side is a traditional church-going Republican electorate, mostly of rural, mid-west and southern states whose conservative Christian values are shaped as much by the pulpit and prayer book as by factional politics. On the other side, the supposedly informed, internationally aware, secular democrats; the party of the urban Pacific and northeast Atlantic states."¹⁹ The faith of citizens today has quickly become a goldmine for politicians who are vote-mongers.

Although many politicians are in fact very religious, the devoutly faithful are easy prey for politicians searching to catch and secure votes. According to social scientist Gerald De Maio, a trend exists between secular liberals and religious traditionalists. Apparently in every presidential election since 1992, about 70%-80% of the secular liberals vote for the democratic candidate, and about two-thirds of the religious traditionalist vote Republican. De Maio also claims that polls have shown that, "about a third saw evangelical Christians as a threat to democracy. More than half thought that they had too much political power. [He believes that] there is this feeling that 'religion in the public square is toxic'."²⁰

Democracy in America has divided our nation between the religious and the non-religious and this is most clearly demonstrated in the realm of politics. The presidential election of 2004 divided the nation into the conservative traditional religious and the liberal religious. According to the *Sunday Herald*, "certainly Democrats realize they must now work out why they play so badly with voters for whom faith is an important

issue. Senator Blanche Lincoln, an Arkansas Democrat, says: 'People are faced with so many problems they cling to faith and prayers. I don't hesitate to express the importance of my faith. The Democrats have to get comfortable doing that.'

Two clauses of the First Amendment concern the relationship of government to religion: the Establishment clause and the Free Exercise Clause. Although the clauses were intended by the framers to serve common values, there is some tension between the two. For example, some people might suggest that providing a military chaplain for troops stationed overseas violates the Establishment Clause, while others might suggest that failing to provide a chaplain violates the Free Exercise Clause rights of the same troops.

At an absolute minimum, the Establishment Clause was intended to prohibit the federal government from declaring and financially supporting a national religion, such as existed in many other countries at the time of the nation's founding. It is far less clear whether the Establishment Clause was also intended to prevent the federal government from supporting Christianity in general. Proponents of a narrow interpretation of the clause point out that the same First Congress that proposed the Bill of Rights also opened its legislative day with prayer and voted to apportion federal dollars to establish Christian mission in the Indian lands. Conversely, persons seeing a far broader meaning in the clause point to writings by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison suggesting the need to establish "a wall of separation" between church and state.²¹

The Establishment Clause remained unquestioned until 1947 when the Supreme Court saw the landmark case of *Everson v Board of Education*. Voting 5 to 4, the Court upheld a state law that reimbursed parents for the cost of busing their children to parochial schools. It was clear from the various opinions in *Everson* that if the state had reimbursed the parochial schools for the cost of providing the transportation, that it would have been found to violate the Establishment Clause. Although in his majority opinion Justice Black wrote of the "wall of separation" that the Constitution maintains between church and state, Black viewed the aid as serving the state's secular interest in getting kids "safely and expeditiously" to schools. The case is noteworthy for its extensive discussion of the purposes of the Establishment Clause, and for the fact that all nine justices agree that the clause was intended to do far more than merely prohibit the establishment of a state religion.

Subsequent decisions make clear that a majority of justices on the Supreme Court view "the wall" separating church and state more as a shifting, porous barrier. Small factual differences in cases often produce different outcomes. For example, in 1948, the Court found that the practice of inviting religious instructors into public schools to give optional religious instruction violates the Establishment Clause. Then, in the 1952 case of *Zorach v Clauson*, the Court upheld the practice of giving public school students "release time" so that they could attend religious programs in churches in synagogues. Writing for the Court in *Zorach*, Justice Douglas said the Constitution does not require "callous indifference to religion."²²

In a lecture delivered at the Ford Hall Forum, on April 20, 1986, Leonard Peikoff addressed the concern of *Religion vs. America*. During Peikoff's speech he quoted then congressman Jack Kemp on the matter of religion in America, he said:

Religious views lie at the heart of our political system. The inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are based on the belief that each individual is created by God and has a special value in His eyes... Without a common belief in the one God who created us, there could be no freedom and no recourse if a majority were to seek to abrogate the rights of the minority.²³ The congressman's opinion is one shared by many, however, it is one that ostracizes all those citizens who do not share that same God, nor those who believe in no God at all.

Peikoff followed this quote by describing the how for many politicians who harbor this perspective or a similar one that it is "these men [who] are dedicated to implementing their religious creeds politically; they seem to make these creeds the governing factor in the realm of our personal relations, our clinics and hospitals, and the education of our youth. [These are the people who have] given the adherents of religion a prominence in setting the national agenda that they have not had in this country for generations."²³

"There was a flaw in the intellectual foundation of America from the start; the attempt to combine the Enlightenment approach in politics with the Judeo-Christian ethics. For a while, the later element was on the defensive, muted by the eighteenth-century spirit, so that America could gain a foothold, grow to maturity, and become great... by now, the distinctive ideas at the base of America have been largely forgotten or swept aside. They will not be brought back by an appeal to religion." "There are many good people in the world who accept religion, and many of them hold some good ideas on social questions. I do not dispute that. But their religion is not the solution to our problem; it *is* the problem... Of course, religions must be left free; no philosophic viewpoint, right or wrong, should be interfered with by the state. I do say, however, that it is time for patriots to take a stand—to name publicly what America does depend on, and why that is not Judaism or Christianity... It is time to tell people the unvarnished truth: to stand up for man's mind and this earth, and against any version of mysticism or religion. It is time to tell people: 'You must choose between unreason and America. You cannot have both. Take your pick.'"²⁴ Although audacious and highly offensive to the faithful, Peikoff introduces a reality that America faces today. This reality being that the United States has shifted between the two poles of religion and secularism, both being beneficial and detrimental depending on the perspective. It is necessary for the United States to function in a manner between the two poles, a balance between the two opposing sides, in an effort to appease most citizens. Religion in America has become entangled with the beliefs and values of Americans.

Although religion is clearly vital to Americans, and its importance has surfaced during events and issues discussed earlier, still one must question how religion has changed during the last half century. During the last fifty years alone, America has evolved into a more diverse and highly advanced society, but many Americans may be oblivious to how religion's currents have changed. Curious of how religion has changed in the eyes of those who hold religion closest in their lives, I questioned those who personally have devoted their lives to God. When speaking to Sister Carol Ward, a Dominican Nun for the Catholic Church and Catholic School Principal in south central Los Angeles, I sought answers to more fully understand how religion, at least in Catholicism, has changed in America. According to Sister Ward, during the past few decades religion has become more individualized. Formerly religion had a more primary focus on unity and "brought the family together," yet today fewer people practice and of those who do it is not always their family who accompanies them²⁵. Sister Ward's own personal values and beliefs have in fact been molded by her faith and agreed that her own opinions do not deviate much from the positions of the Church.

When asked about issues such stem cell research and same-sex marriages, Ward adamantly spoke against them, believing that both violated God's respect for man. Although steadfast in her beliefs, I was discouraged by how closed-minded one could be. How a school principal would be so unwilling, so inhibited by her faith to accept new ideas and concepts, to explore that which contradicts and confuses to better understand. During the last half century the Catholic Church announced its belief in the evidence of evolution and that there was in fact the possibility of both the creation of God and the creation of evolution. Like any great body invested by with the faith and beliefs of billions, religious institutions such as the Catholic Church must be prudent in their official statements, to not abandon God but to understand and accept that religion must grow with intellect to survive.

Eager for a more inspiring opinion, I spoke with a colleague of Sister Ward, Sister Renia Perea. Sister Perea shared her opinion that religion has in fact changed greatly and adopted a far too powerful role in the lives of some. She emphasized that it is important to be religious but dangerous to permit religion to oppress your beliefs. Often people are willing to accept ideas while their religious convictions persuade them to reject such ideas. Perea believes that it is God who endowed man with self-identity, and the ability to think independently.²⁶ This trait of man is what enables us to question and seek answers. This skill is how we as people, as a society push on for greater meaning. Our insatiable thirst for knowledge and answers, to question and pursue what is possible, is not what counters the wish of God and religion, but what affirms our beliefs in such higher power entities.

The similarity between all of these issues is that in each of them both religion and democracy influence them, and although it is ultimately democracy that makes the decisions in our country, it is religion that backs the choices that people make. Tocqueville knew almost two centuries ago that people and religion could not be divorced. It was the conviction of the framers of the United States to segregate religion from

government, but it is the people who constitute a government. This is the paradox: how to remove religion from a system so completely entangled with it. Earlier I described religion as infecting our government, Karl Marx called it the "opiate of the people," but in reality religion *is* the people. No matter how you classify one's beliefs, most include the same common doctrines, or at least values. People's values in the United States do not deviate much from one another. Most people value the concept of family, hard work, compassion, and so forth. What religion has become is a security blanket for America; comforting society when it feels threatened or scared of the uncertain future. Religion serves America today as a checkpoint, for safety, to ensure that we do not progress too quickly and do not lose our identity and values in doing so.

The issues examined, such as the right for same-sex marriages, the right to have an abortion, the right to reject the beliefs of Creationism, etc., are all the product of democracy. It is through democracy that choice emerges, and with choice we may discover the unknown and question the validity of the known. It is through democracy that we as a nation identify ourselves, our values, and our convictions. Democracy exposes people to new ideas, both radical and conservative, and introduces possibility. It is the frontier of possibility that we chase dreams and pursue answers, we search for potential and exploit it to the fullest. Religion, however, is primarily established on its doctrines, its beliefs, the thoughts and words dating back centuries, and has little flexibility in accepting new ideas and thoughts.

De Tocqueville was accurate in his realization that man cannot be separated from his religion and would be readily scared without the aid of religion. Democracy has heralded the revolution of science, and with science has come unimaginable possibilities that carry with them innumerable questions over what should and should not be pursued. Science and technology have advanced far more rapidly than society has been ready for. Questions have been raised that neither people nor religion is prepared to answer. Therefore we as a society inherit this responsibility, and must first become acclimated with our current position before we commit ourselves to issues that we are not prepared for. The relationship between religion and democracy has produced a unique synthesis that can both paralyze and catalyze movements in America as we have learned. However, it will be the balance of this marriage of two governing institutions, one of choice and one of faith that will decide the direction that America will travel, the questions we will encounter, and the achievements we will celebrate in the future.

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The Power of Playing the Fool: Subversive Use of Minstrelsy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Moby Dick*

BY CHRISTINA FINETTI

Like today's reality television craze, the minstrel show phenomenon captured the nation during the mid-1840s and remained one of the most popular forms of entertainment throughout the nineteenth century. Although these song and dance shows were perceived by the audiences as comical, black-face minstrelsy was undoubtedly racist and perpetuated the stereotypical view of blacks as inferior to whites. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Moby Dick* both included minstrelsy, not simply as comic relief and certainly not to hold blacks down, but rather to elevate blacks to the respectable position that they deserved. Thus, Stowe and Melville used one of the system's tools to chisel away at the system itself. But was this daring move a successful way for the authors to present their anti-slavery views to a nineteenth century audience, the very people who considered minstrelsy entertainment? Or does the modern audience, now aware of the derogatory nature of the minstrel show, only fully understand the authors' true motives? The minstrel show was so popular during the 1800s that use of minstrelsy in anti-slavery literature was probably seen as comedy or even mistaken for support of prejudicial treatment of blacks, not the brilliant subversion that it was meant to be.

Minstrel shows were structured like variety shows. There were individual skits, dances, jokes, or musical performances with no overriding plot. White actors wore black-face makeup "which gave the impression of huge eyes and gaping mouths" (Toll 36) and spoke in heavy Southern black dialect to depict blacks as unintelligent. Groups like the Virginia Minstrels offered raucous, folksy entertainment: "Whether singing, dancing, or joking, whether in a featured role, accompanying a comrade, or just listening, their wild hollering and their bobbing, seemingly compulsive movements charged their entire performance with excitement" (Toll 36). The early minstrel shows were often ambivalent about slavery, showcasing both happy slaves and instances of cruelty. However, as tensions mounted during the 1850s, minstrel shows focused solely on positive portrayals of slavery, which "helped the Northern public to overlook the brutal aspects of slavery and to rationalize racial caste rather than face the prospect of fundamental social and political change" (Toll 66-67). Blacks were not only shown to be inferior to whites in physical appearance and mental capacity, but

were also portrayed as carefree, childish slaves who *desired* their bondage and enjoyed entertaining whites (Toll 67-73).

Minstrel shows featuring black performers instead of black-faced whites came on the scene during the mid-1850s and appealed to audiences due to their “authenticity” and focus on plantation themes (Toll 198). It would seem that free blacks could have used this opportunity to further themselves through engagement in a lucrative business and exposure of talents. However, “because many whites perceived black minstrels as simply being themselves on stage, without artifice, cultivation, or control, black minstrels’ performances greatly enhanced the credibility of minstrel images of Negroes” (Toll 202). The black performers included some anti-slavery material, but the shows mostly consisted of the same stereotypical images from the white shows, further reinforcing the view that blacks were the inferior race.

Nevertheless, black performers not only earned money and got to travel throughout the country, but they “were able to parodically reconfigure racist representations and challenge the oppressive logic on which they [the minstrel shows] were based...by distancing themselves from damaging representations through exaggeration” (Tuhkanen 18). Even though the white audiences did not see the subversion, black performers challenged the game by playing the game. Tuhkanen applies Lacan’s concept of mimicry during human development to exemplify black performance in minstrelsy. During the “mirror stage,” an infant recognizes its reflection in a mirror as an image that is separate from its own body. The subject becomes paranoid, due to the presence of a double identity, but this paranoia is necessary for entrance into the symbolic order. After this identification of the ego as “other,” the subject becomes the “social I” (Tuhkanen 21). Lacan also likens this developmental stage to a game of even and odd, where a player identifies a correspondence between himself and his opponent, alienates himself by realizing that he could make himself into the other player, then ultimately plays like an “idiot”—subversively reverting back to a clean slate. Tuhkanen believes that black minstrel show performers “put on the masks created for and by the white gaze” to “fool their audience by playing like an idiot” (23).

In *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, Shelby’s slave Sam assumes this idiotic role. When Sam first hears about Eliza’s departure, he swears that he will find her: “It’s Sam dat’s called for in dese yer times. He’s de nigger. See if I don’t cotch her, now Mas’r’ll see what Sam can do” (Stowe 38). He is described as being concerned only for his own well-being. Andy warns Sam that Mrs. Shelby wants Eliza to escape and stresses that “it’s allers best to stand Missis’ side the fence” (Stowe 38). Stowe shows Sam contemplating this warning in a demeaning way by making him appear unintelligent and stubborn. She depicts Sam “scratch[ing] his wooly pate, which, if it did not contain very profound wisdom, still contained a great deal of a particular species much in demand among politicians” (Stowe 38). To adhere to the minstrel show’s portrayal of blacks as tricksters, Sam eventually changes his tune and engages in a mischievous plot to spook Haley’s horse. Sam lets Andy in on the fun by stating, “Yer see, Andy, if any such things should happen as that Mas’r Haley’s horse *should* begin to act contrary, and cut up, you and I jist lets

go of our’n to help him, and *we’ll help him*—Oh yes!’ And Sam and Andy laid their heads back on their shoulders, and broke into a low, immoderate laugh, snapping their fingers and flourishing their heels with exquisite delight” (Stowe 40). In appreciation of their plot, Sam and Andy burst into spontaneous dance. When Haley sits atop his horse, the perfectly placed nutshell underneath the saddle irritates the animal into a frenzy, but Sam and Andy and other black onlookers cause commotion in an effort to delay the chase: “And now ensued a miscellaneous scene of confusion. Sam and Andy ran and shouted—dogs barked here and there—and Mike, Mose, Mandy, Fanny and all the smaller specimens on the place, both male and female, raced, clapped hands, whooped, and shouted” (Stowe 41). This scene is typical of the loud, raucous dancing and singing of the minstrel shows.

Sam speaks in black Southern dialect, carries on mischievous plots, laughs and dances, and seems contented with life on the plantation (though he wants to move up to Tom’s status). These are all elements of the minstrel show, whether with black-faced whites or black performers. Superficially, this depiction of Sam would seem derogatory. However, “the abusiveness of minstrel images can under certain circumstances be turned around and mobilized for self-affirmative purposes by African Americans” (Tuhkanen 12). Sam’s manipulation of Haley’s horse and his confusing directions are much more than silly tricks. He successfully prevents Mr. Haley, a powerful white male, from gaining ground on Eliza and symbolically throws a wrench into the system of slavery as a whole. Blacks were supposed to be unintelligent and subservient, and even though Sam seems to possess these characteristics, he is really only *playing* the part of the fool, while using his true wisdom to thwart Haley’s plans. Sam is a “providential agent, self-taught orator, community protector, bragging humorist, and homespun philosopher” who creates “significant humor at the expense of white male authority” (Bense 195). The audience laughs at Sam until they realize they are actually laughing *with* Sam.

Stowe uses Sam’s self-serving antics and piety to make a case for reform. After manipulating Haley, Sam presents his exaggerated story to Aunt Chloe. He states, “And any one o’ these yer drivers that comes smelling round arter any our people, why, he’s got me in his way; I’m the feller he’s got to set in with—I’m the feller for yer all to come to, bredren—I’ll stand up for yer rights—I’ll fend ‘em to the last breath!” (Stowe 65). Andy rightly remarks that Sam had originally wanted to capture Eliza so that he could work his way up to a higher position. But Sam retorts that he always adheres to his principles: “I’d walk right up to de stake, I would, and say here I comes to shed my blood fur my principles, fur my country, fur de gen’l interests of s’ciety” (Stowe 66). Sam desires to fulfill his own interests and he legitimizes his practices through a show of piety. This is similar to the way in which slaveholders justified their possession of human property—they kept slaves to fulfill their own needs and often used religion or economic principles to uphold their practices. Sam “represents an idealized figure of slave ‘property’ who ironically represents the pseudo-values that the master culture most esteemed in itself” (Bense 203). Thus, Sam’s comically contradictory ways are

not so much a testament to the lives of slaves but to the lives of the white masters. He exposes the ugliness of slavery by assuming the characteristics of the slaveholder. Ultimately,

Stowe worked subversively within the rhetoric and culturally invented myths that held sway over slavery propaganda to convert the most egregious kind of slave stereotyping among her contemporaries into a shape-shifting, encompassing figure who would, through his words and enactments, deflate major tenets of American ideology that had made his 'creation' possible. (Bense 189)

Although *Moby Dick* was primarily considered an adventure story, Melville included much social commentary in his masterpiece. Reynolds notes "temperance, anti-slavery, socialism, anti-Catholicism, antiwar—these and other popular reforms provide a wealth of images to Melville in *Moby Dick*" (529). The reformist imagery is not obvious, because the novel is "largely devoid of political or didactic content" (Reynolds 529). Since Melville did not intend to preach his views on issues of the day, he found subtle ways to offer social criticism. He wrote much of his commentary on race relations under the guise of minstrelsy.

Scenes involving the black characters Fleece and Pip are structured like skits in a minstrel show. Fleece, the cook, is called before Stubb, who digs into the steak of a whale he had killed. Fleece comically enters the scene "shuffling and limping along...[and] with both hands folded before him, and resting his two-legged cane, he bowed his arched back still further over, at the same time sideways inclining his head, so as to bring his best ear into play" (Melville 425). Stubb makes Fleece try to quiet down the voracious sharks that follow the Pequod, hungry for whale scraps. He addresses the sharks in his heavy black dialect: "Fellow-critters: I'se ordered here to say dat you must stop dat dam noise dare. You here? Stop dat dam smakcin' ob de lip!" (Melville 426). Fleece is portrayed as a fool for speaking with sharks. Stubb prods him along and gullible Fleece continues to preach to the animals: "Your woraciousness, fellow-critters, I don't blame ye so much for; dat is nature, and can't be helped; but to gobern dat wicked nature, dat is de pint. You is sharks, sartin; but if you gobern de shark in you, why den you be angel; for all angel is not'ing more dan de shark well goberned" (Melville 426). Fleece's comments seem silly and juvenile, and this perception reinforces the stereotype that blacks were less intelligent than whites.

Although Melville has Fleece act like the typical minstrel performer, some of his statements, when considered on a deeper level, are quite meaningful. For example, Stubb teases him about his faith and the afterlife. Fleece looks silly pointing his metal canes toward heaven, but he is certain about his beliefs: "When dis old brack man dies...he hisself won't go nowhere; but some bressed angel will come and fetch him" (Melville 429). Eventually, Fleece has the last word. Stubb thinks he is the dominant figure because he is white and powerful (after killing a whale and eating its male genitalia). But Fleece states "Wish, by Gor! whale eat him, 'stead of him eat whale.

I'm bressed if he ain't more of shark dan Massa Shark hisself" (Melville 430), which shows his contempt for Stubb. Although Fleece was made to be the fool throughout their comical exchange, he ultimately exposes Stubb's pompous attitude and gains the upper hand.

Melville also uses elements of minstrelsy when dealing with Pip, a young black ship-hand who is branded as inferior by the other crew members. When Pip dove off Stubb's whale-boat, he was abandoned for his cowardly action and almost drowned. Pip actually experienced the mysteries of the sea and gained true wisdom of God's works—something that no one else could comprehend. Despite this grand knowledge, Pip is portrayed as a melodramatic fool who follows Ahab, a white, powerful male, around like a puppy. Pip grabs Ahab's hand lovingly and states "Ah, now, had poor Pip but felt so kind a thing as this, perhaps he had ne'er been lost!" (Melville 747). Superficially, the captain is portrayed as the protector that the young black boy clings to. The minstrel shows featured "romantic and sentimentalized images of happy, contented slaves and nostalgic old Negroes looking back to the good old days on the plantation" (Toll 88). This cheery view of race relations depicted in the minstrel shows is utilized by Melville, but only subversively. Ahab does not latch onto Pip to show his superiority, but because he wants to know the mysterious things that Pip has experienced. Pip, like Fleece, has the upper hand since he possesses knowledge that Ahab desires. Thus, both black characters that are superficially portrayed as minstrel performers actually prove to be wiser than many (if not all) of the white characters. Hidden meaning lies beneath the minstrelsy: "Melville has Ahab describe all visible objects as 'pasteboard masks' and declare that man's highest goal is to 'strike through the mask.' In this sense, the object of Ahab's quest is the ultimate dark-reform mythic image" (Reynolds 531). Just as Ahab tries to find the true meaning behind everything, Melville sets up the minstrel show structure as a "pasteboard mask" for readers to see through.

In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe wanted to "light up the darkness by humorous and grotesque episodes, and the presentation of the milder and more amusing phases of slavery" (Bense 187). Similarly, in *Moby Dick*, Melville utilizes a "literary realm in which subversive reform energy and rhetoric, rather than reform message, become the literary artist's central concern" (Reynolds 531). In bold attempts to challenge slavery, both authors strive to portray blacks as intelligent, sensible, and complex human beings, rather than childish buffoons, needy for the "comforts" of plantation life, and they used minstrelsy subversively. However, most nineteenth century readers (or even just those exposed to the novels through popular discourse) probably would not have comprehended the use of minstrelsy as a force for elevating blacks. Minstrel shows were so popular during the 1850s, when both novels were published, that one could not help but either be familiar with the content of minstrelsy or obsessed with its entertaining aspects. Some minstrel shows, especially those including songs written by Stephen Foster, were more "refined" than others, focusing on emotional or romantic scenes (Toll 37). These shows were considered too cultured, as indicated by a newspaper entitled *Spirit of the Times*: "They were too elegant and sedate in their

formal wear and their musical manner to compete with the humor of the Christys who ‘accomplish what is the legitimate object of their costume and colored faces, namely the personation of the witty Negro’” (Toll 38). Audiences enjoyed the raucous skits, dialect, and buffoonery that ordinarily characterized the minstrel show. Since people looked to the shows for a good laugh, use of the minstrel show structure in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Moby Dick* would have been perceived as comic relief.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was revered by Abolitionists and controversial to supporters of slavery. The novel was also popular among minstrel show producers searching for melodramatic material, but the story was not reproduced accurately. George L. Aiken wrote a stage version of the novel that maintained Stowe's anti-slavery commentary, but the majority of the productions drastically altered characters, plot, and the reformist message to create pro-Southern versions (Toll 91). In many of these shows, Uncle Tom is depicted as content with his life as a slave, like in Frank Brower's show, entitled “Happy Uncle Tom,” which portrayed Tom as “a decrepit, near-deaf old man who understood little about the world, but who was invigorated by the sound of banjo music to which he compulsively danced” (Toll 94). The other serious characters, such as George, Eliza, and Eva, were also portrayed in a lighthearted manner. If the most vehemently anti-slavery characters were depicted comically, then it is unlikely that Sam, a less fundamental character, would have been considered in a serious light. These pro-southern productions were more popular than the Aiken production (which was discontinued in 1854):

The watered-down, pro-Southern versions of the play proved more in touch with the general public's tastes as the decade continued and opposition to slavery threatened to destroy the Union. To be sure, anti-slavery versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ran in Boston and Philadelphia, but what happened when the play opened in Baltimore was more representative of late antebellum versions. To make production acceptable to the audience, John E. Owens, a comedian who managed the theater, adapted and softened the Aiken version. Owens ordered the parts of Legree and George and Liza Harris toned down, and he himself played Uncle Tom as a low-comedy type. ‘I've raked up all sorts of situations from old farces, and so on—anything to cover up the real drift of the play.’ (Toll 92)

Furthermore, many minstrel shows attacked Stowe herself for encouraging slaves to run away from plantations—“misleading” them into more difficult lives (Toll 96). These popular shows turned Stowe and her powerful novel into a comedic act.

Minstrel show producers did not seek out *Moby Dick* for material, so the novel was not as obviously publicly degraded as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But despite Melville's efforts at subversive reform, *Moby Dick* was largely viewed as just an adventure story:

In its most basic sense, *Moby Dick* falls in the category of Romantic Adventure, by far the most popular type of fiction published in America during the two decades immediately prior to the publication of the novel....Despite the twentieth century reputation of *Moby Dick* as a pre-modern metaphysical fiction unusual for its day, it should be noted that contemporary reviews of the novel, which were predominantly favorable, emphasized its divertingly adventurous aspects. (Reynolds 524)

Since the nineteenth century audience did not see the novel as much more than an exciting plot, they would not have viewed scenes involving Fleece or Pip as serious reflections on race relations, but simply comic relief.

It is only recently that more complex readings of the use of minstrelsy to elevate blacks have been accepted. Tuhkanen notes that minstrel theory evolved over the twentieth century, from “uncritical” views on “cultural borrowing,” to more critical views of minstrel shows as reflections of white audiences' demands, to the most critical views of minstrelsy as highly damaging to blacks (17). Even in the twentieth century, examination of minstrelsy did not fully expose the negative aspects of the shows, nor did it show the subversive nature of black performance until quite recently. Nineteenth century audiences obviously were not exposed to these criticisms; they were primarily influenced by the racial tension of the times and the entertainment of minstrel shows.

Stowe and Melville were not wrong to use minstrelsy in their novels as a means to change the public perception of blacks. In fact, it was an effective way to reach pro-slavery audiences, since blatant criticism of the system would have been shunned. Entertainment sells—this is why Stowe and Melville incorporated the humor of minstrelsy into their serious arguments. Given the pressing circumstances of the period, it was better to access a wide audience through the use of a popular, though damaging, technique rather than to reach only a few vigorous reformists. Although their use of minstrelsy may not have been very successful at working toward their intended goals, the authors should be lauded for their bold efforts to discredit predominant stereotypes of blacks and challenge the entire system of slavery.

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Love Me Tender: Figuring Out the Real Meaning Behind Titian's *Venus of Urbino*

BY KATIE SCHIEWETZ

Since its first day on the market, the purpose of Titian's *Venus of Urbino* has been a source of contention. There are three ways that critics tend to view the woman in the painting: as a Venetian courtesan, designed to seduce; as a representation of Venus, mythological goddess of love and beauty; or as a bride, celebrating married love. No matter what his true purpose was, no one could argue that Titian has not provided an overtly yet subtly alluring subject, both psychologically and physically. Titian has created, using space and color, a scene in which the viewer has no choice but to look at the woman, the subject of the painting. There is a huge difference between the foreground and the background, further relegating the actions of the background to the nether regions of the work; they are not to be focused on. The servants in the background and the boudoir furnishings are the landscape for Titian's not-so-sleeping Venus. Titian's lighting helps create the very distinctive spatial difference, as do the diagonals leading the viewer's gaze directly to the woman. She holds tight to the gaze of the viewer, inviting him to come closer. It is the intensity of her gaze that is a determining factor in the arresting nature of the work. My paper will attempt to answer the question, "Does the status of the woman really change the meaning of the work or the reaction to it?"

If one views the woman as a Venetian courtesan, the painting takes on a lascivious nature. *Venus of Urbino* can be seen as a courtesan mainly for the way the woman presents her body to the viewer. Courtesans, or court prostitutes, would more than likely be thought to be less ashamed of her body than a virginal member of a well-off family. Given the sexual nature of their jobs, courtesans would indeed have to know how to seduce a man; if they were not appealing to members of the court, they would lose their customers, and thus their livelihood. They would probably be used to suffering the gazes of potential clients, all the while having to appear sexually attractive. It is the way that the woman meets the gaze of the onlooker, not as if to challenge, but as though she was inviting him into her boudoir, that makes the strongest case for reading the woman as a Venetian courtesan. "Aware of the spectator upon whom she fixes her enigmatic gaze, she consciously and unashamedly presents her body for the

delectation of the onlooker" (Cole 116). It is this confidence, which for some reason Western culture associates with sexual deviation or promiscuity, which identifies her, for some critics, as a courtesan. *Venus of Urbino* has long been termed Renaissance pornography, as Rona Goffen points out. Wilhelm Heinse, in 1785, said the woman is "a charming young Venetian girl between seventeen and eighteen years, with languorous glance. ...Titian...did not wish to paint any Venus but rather only a courtesan" (Goffen 147).

The second interpretation, although not one typically accepted by critics, makes use of the title in forming an opinion. According to this interpretation, Titian was creating a Venus picture, following a long tradition of depicting Venus as a popular classical motif. If this is the case, then Titian could be seen as simply following Giorgione and all the other Venus painters who had preceded him, yet at the same time changing the woman to reveal his personal style. Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* had a great impact on Titian's choices for *Venus of Urbino* as evinced by the obvious visual echo found between them. "Titian took from Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* both the pose and the gesture...The *Venus of Urbino* adds assertiveness to independence: fully sentient, cognizant, and self-aware" (Goffen 153). If Titian was following tradition, however, he altered that tradition somewhat. "Titian departed from the venerable prototype in two significant ways. ...Venus does not cover her breast with her right arm. ...The second variation[,]...unlike the ancient Venus pudica, she does not merely conceal, she caresses herself" (Goffen 152).

Few critics believe that the woman is actually intended to be a representation of the goddess Venus; Vasari, when he first saw the painting, apparently said "by the hand of Tiziano...a young recumbent Venus with flowers and certain light draperies about her, very beautiful and well-finished" (358). It appears that Vasari was the first to imbue the mythological element into *Venus of Urbino*; his influence through his book has named the woman Venus, and Venus she shall be to the world as long as art is around. Vasari more than likely believed the woman to be Venus for two reasons: she appeared much as previous Venuses had, and she holds roses, which are traditionally associated with Venus as goddess. Yet most critics find this evidence too flimsy to accept the woman as simply a Venus. Roberto Zapperi says that, "the painting...shows a nude woman lying on a bed, as her servant in the background attends to her clothes. In this everyday scene there is no reference to any known myth" (Goffen 147). It is precisely this lack of mythological presence that leads the majority of critics to see the *Venus of Urbino* as an allegory of marriage.

Art historians have found numerous reasons to see *Venus of Urbino* as a marital allegory. The most basic of these reasons is the presence of the chests, or *cassoni*, in the background of the piece. The servants are actively going through the *cassoni*, presumably to find clothing suitable for the woman to wear. The *cassoni* are indicative of a marital theme because "*Cassoni* were traditionally commissioned by the bridegroom or his kinsmen on the occasion of his wedding and intended for the storage of clothing, particularly his wife's trousseau" (Goffen 146). In addition to the *cassoni*, a dog sleeps

on the bed at the woman's feet. Dogs, being symbolic of fidelity, were often included in paintings to make a point about the nature of the relationship. Symbolism aside, the viewer should be asking the question, "Why is the dog sleeping?" If the woman is gazing seductively at a male, and this male can therefore be theoretically placed in the confines of her bedroom, the dog should have sensed the man's approach and reacted to it. Generally, when strangers enter a dog's vicinity, the dog is automatically on alert. The woman's dog, however, does not even perk up an ear. According to Goffen, "Such a dog can sleep peacefully because the person who has just entered is not an intruder; he is master of this household" (146). These two are the most obvious proofs that the *Venus of Urbino* was intended to be read as an allegory of marital love.

A seemingly ironic proof of the allegory reading is found in the woman's left hand. It sits, fingers curled, as though she were caressing herself. This can be seen as marital evidence due to the theology and medical practices of the day. It was believed that "the woman's emission (orgasm) was...essential for conception" (Goffen 152). Supposedly, went the theory, if the woman did not emit her own form of sperm through her orgasm, creation of life would not result from the coupling. "Female masturbation was deemed acceptable, and sometimes necessary...to...encourage gestation" (Goffen 153). That the woman may be masturbating can be seen as proof that she wants to conceive a child, and therefore would be in a married situation, as unwed mothers at that time were generally mistreated by society as a whole.

The historical context of the piece would also seem to indicate the painting's intention as allegory. It may have been created in order to celebrate the consummation of the marriage of Guidobaldo della Rovere to Giulia Varano, who was only ten at the time of their wedding. Typically in the Renaissance, marriages would commence early in life, whereas consummation would wait until the bride reached fourteen years of age, which was judged to be the time womanhood was attained. "It is almost inconceivable-both biologically and socially- that their union could have been consummated at [the time of their marriage]. Such a marriage, involving an underage bride and a groom compelled to delay his sexual possession of her – and hers of him – could well explain the quirks of Titian's composition" (Goffen 155). It is highly probable that this piece was in commemoration of the time when Giulia could, in fact, become the woman in the painting for Guidobaldo.

The varying ways in which the viewer can read the *Venus of Urbino* change the way the viewer typically reacts to the piece. If the onlooker sees the woman as a courtesan, the painting can take on a pornographic or naughty quality, much like *Playboy* magazine. In that case the woman is designed to arouse whoever is looking at her, and may seem somewhat 'dirty' to Western culture, as Westerners tend to look down on sexually promiscuous women, especially those who accept money for their actions. The connotation of the woman as a courtesan will lead a Westerner to read the painting as a form of pornography in the style of the Italian Renaissance. If the viewer chooses to believe that Titian was following tradition and depicting a classical Venus, he will likely not be as bothered by the inherent sexuality of the woman. Venus, as understood

by Western culture, was the goddess of love and beauty, and has become associated with all things relating to sex. It would seem less “wrong” to a Westerner, to become aroused by a picture of Venus than by the same picture of a common whore. Venus is not real; she is an ideal and therefore perfectly acceptable to fantasize about, according to Western standards. If the observer sees the piece as an allegory of married love, then the sexual nature of the woman and her position becomes almost sacred, in that she is lavishing all her attention and efforts on her husband, the man to whom she owes her status. In this way, the piece becomes less about ogling a naked woman and more about celebrating the act of love, making it “ok” for us as Westerners to accept the openly sexual nature of the woman and thus the work.

Through Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, one can see how changing the basis or meaning of a piece can completely alter the way it is understood by modern day culture, even though the same piece may have meant something completely different to those who were around when it was painted. Whether the woman is a courtesan, a goddess, or a bride, Titian has gifted her with the ability to be uniquely sexual and assertive of her own character. “Her forceful gaze is assertive but not brazen. The eyes have it: Venus’ eyes, which irresistibly hold our own, assert her character, her intellect, and her power to choose” (Goffen 157).

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Titian's *Venus of Urbino*



Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus*



Sexual Desires Interpreted into Power

BY MARTHA MACKENZIE



The difference in sexual desires for men and women in seventeenth-century poetry demonstrates a disparity between men and women's perspective on power at the time. Such poets as John Donne, Aphra Behn, and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, portray these differing viewpoints in their works. In writing of homosexuality, Donne and Behn each take a unique position on what this kind of relationship means in terms of power. Donne writes of male homosexuality while Behn writes of female homosexuality. The perception of power also differs for Behn and Rochester in that their poems portray differing views of sexual relationships. Rochester is rudely frank while Behn is quietly subtle in her portrayal of events. Though Donne, Behn, and Rochester all write of male and female sexual desires, they each translate these desires differently concerning the notion of power.

At this time, it was not uncommon to regard homosexual love between two males as superior. A sexual relationship between two males was seen as pure spiritual love, while sex between a male and a female was solely for reproduction. As John Donne describes this difference in his poem *Air and Angels*, he writes, "Just such disparity / As twixt Air and Angel's purity, / T'wixt women's love, and men's will ever be" (*Air and Angels* 26-28). Donne considers the angel to be pure while the air that it needs to become physical is tainted. He uses the angel as a metaphor for a male's love. The air, then, is a symbol of women's love. By extension then, he is regarding a male's love as more pure than a woman's love. This largely attributed to the exclusion of women and thus defined the elite power men held in society. As Susan Lanser says, "[...] homosocial bonds without relying on the exchange of women... in excluding women, consolidated male power" (2). Through these homosexual and homosocial bonds, men were affirming the power they held in society. Rochester also viewed these homosexual bonds as beneficial. Jonathan Kramnick explains, "Rochester was comfortable describing sexual relations with men because... these relations did not yet carry the negative stigma of effeminacy but were, rather, signs of libertine extravagance" (8). Both Donne and Rochester upheld these relations between men to be a good thing in society. But homosexual relations between women were becoming more and more public through

the works of female writers, including Aphra Behn, and therefore began to jeopardize this power that the men claimed to have.

At this time, women were regarded as mere complements to men. However, women such as Aphra Behn, overrode this idea. In writing about homosexual bonds between two females, Behn took control of her own power and threatened the stability of society. As Susan Lanser points out:

Men could elevate male bonding without refusing marriage or the sexual hierarchy on which public and private life were based, but for women to advocate female bonds instead of marriage threatened the larger order that defined women as men's complements if not their inferiors. This challenge is arguably intensified by the figuration of female friendship in the tropes of physical desire. (3)

Male homosexual relationships could be justified, because males still held the power over women. However, with the rise of publicizing female homosexual relations, women were beginning to substantiate their own power in society.

No longer were these women depending on their men as completely as they had been. Women took the power into their own hands and followed their sexual desires to be with other women. Susan Lanser points out, "I will suggest that female friendship emerged through women's agency as a powerful resource in the struggle for autonomy and authority" (1). Women began to find their own means of power through their sexual desires toward other women. Aphra Behn describes these desires in her poem, *To the fair Clarinda, who made Love to me, imagined more than Woman*. Behn begins the poem with the lines:

Fair lovely maid, or if that title be
Too weak, too feminine for nobler thee,
Permit a name that more approaches truth:
And let me call thee, lovely charming youth. (1-4)

Here, Behn suggests that women are becoming stronger through their ties to one another. She wants to call her lover something other than "Fair lovely maid" as this title seems to be "Too weak" and "too feminine" for this woman (*To the fair* 1-2). Behn describes this love as being "innocent" (13). She claims the women are not going against any law. But if they are to be accused of wrongdoing, Behn says the lovers will "form excuses" (15). She holds to her idea that this love is real and it is worthy.

She believes that the love between women is superior to the love between a man and a woman. Behn takes a blatant stab at men when she writes, "For who, that gathers fairest flowers believes / A snake lies hid beneath the fragrant leaves" (*To the fair* 16-17). The "fairest flowers" that Behn speaks of represent women (16). She compli-

ments women by portraying them as the beauty of nature or as flowers. Behn then goes on to symbolize a man as "A snake" (17). This snake is the symbol of the snake in the Garden of Eden. It is a sign of temptation. Behn says that though women are tempted by this snake, or by men, they shall resist. A woman's love is superior to that of a man's. As Susan Lanser puts it:

Like discourses by men, women's writing often stressed the superiority of friendship over marital ties. As men had based a homosocial exclusivity on the claim that women were unfit, now women held up men's poor treatment of them and the unequal system of marriage as evidence that in female intimacy lay women's best hope. (3)

Many times women disguised their sexual relations with other women in fabricating a different kind of relationship. For example, one woman might be disguised as the servant for another woman, though the women were really lovers. Another example of this was in calling the women mere friends, as Lanser points out. With friendship as a convenient mask, women at the time were carrying on sexual relations with each other.

Behn and Rochester both write about sexual relations between lovers in their poems. They take similar anti-Puritan views. They both describe sexual relations as being purely for pleasure. In opposition to Andrew Marvell's "coy mistress," Behn and Rochester make their characters sexually charged and extremely forward. However, each expresses these desires in a different manner. Rochester uses vivid imagery while Behn makes the sexual acts in her poems subtler. While Rochester continually gives the power to his male characters, Behn puts the power in her female characters' hands.

Rochester is infamous for his raunchy, almost pornographic poetry. His sexual imagery is over the top at times. It is as if Rochester is simply going for shock value. For example, in his poem, *A Ramble in St. James's Park*, he writes, "Each job of whose spermatic sluice / Had filled her cunt with wholesome juice" (Rochester 93-94). This illustration of the sexual act is hardly necessary and yet lines like these are found throughout Rochester's work. Rochester tends to portray the women in his poems as dirty with many partners. He writes, "When your lewd cunt came spewing home / Drenched with the seed of half the town" (Rochester 113-114). These women are mostly prostitutes who are paid to have sex.

The men who sleep with these women then, ultimately hold the power in Rochester's poems. The males are the ones who have the money to pay these women. The males desire the sexual act, while the prostitutes mostly want the money. The males control the situation because they possess the money. In essence, the men control the women's desire for money while satisfying their own sexual desires.

Rochester describes the male desire as instinctual and almost animalistic. He ends the poem, *A Satire Against Reason and Mankind*, with the line, "Man differs more from man, than man from beast" (Rochester 221). This is a comment on the different

classes of society of the time, as well as on the desires of men. Rochester implies that men basically act out of their “beastly” instincts to have sex with women. Though the men’s desires are almost out of their control, they still hold the power over the women in the sexual relationship.

Behn takes a different approach in describing these sexual encounters. In her poem, *Song “I Led my Silvia to a Grove,”* she writes:

A many kisses I did give,
And she returned the same,
Which made her willing to receive;
That which I dare not name. (13-16).

Though Behn is obviously portraying a sexual relationship, she is not disclosing the intimate details like Rochester. The closest she comes to illustrating what goes on between the lovers is in her use of the word “kisses” (13). That is the only taste that we get of any sex. She ends this poem with the line, “Oh! Who can guess the rest” (Behn 24). Behn is subtle in her description of sexual acts while Rochester is extremely blunt.

Behn and Rochester did agree, however, that love ruined the pleasure of sexual relations. In her poem, *The Disappointment*, Behn writes:

Ready to taste a thousand joys,
The too transported hapless swain,
Found the vast pleasure turned to pain;
Pleasure which too much love destroys: (71-74).

Behn and Rochester don’t think that love and sex mix. As Rochester says in his poem, *The Imperfect Enjoyment*, “But when great Love the onset does command, / Base recreant to thy price, thou dar’st not stand” (59-60). These two lines describe a man who cannot get an erection with the woman he loves because of this love.

Behn and Rochester both write of impotence in their poetry, however each sees this impotence differently. As Lisa M. Zeitz and Peter Thoms describe it, “The male tradition itself is, of course, concerned with the representation of masculine identity; unlike its male counterparts, however, Behn’s ‘The Disappointment’ is not about impotence so much as it is about the power at a number of levels” (501). Behn portrays the loss of an erection as the loss of power. She says, “But Oh what envying god conspires / To snatch his power, yet leave him the desire!” (*The Disappointment* 79-80). The man is left with his sexual desire but he doesn’t have the control to do anything about it. He has essentially lost the power over the situation. For Behn:

[A] narrative that is ostensibly about [...] a man’s failure of physiological control provides the opportunity to examine a wider dynamics of power, authority, and social role-playing that permeates and perverts the relations between the sexes. (513)

The man is not the only one with desires. Furthermore, his desires have left him unable to act and ultimately without power.

Rochester describes this dilemma in a different light. Instead of depicting impotence as the loss of power, Rochester plainly describes it as the temporary loss of function. He does not connect the loss of a man’s function with the loss of a man’s power. He rather “distances himself from his current failure by repudiating his penis” (Zeitz 512). Rochester reasons that it isn’t the man’s fault that he cannot get an erection, but rather the penis is to blame. The male narrator of Rochester’s poem, *The Imperfect Enjoyment*, describes his penis as “Thou treacherous, base deserter of my flame, / False passion, fatal to my fame” (45-46). Rochester maintains the man’s power with this distinction.

He also makes the male the narrator purposefully, giving him back his power. In his poem, *The Imperfect Enjoyment*:

The speaker *is* the male lover, a strategy in which the loss of physical vigor is more than counterbalanced by the provision of narrative authority. While the lover fails to control the unfolding of the sexual encounter, he recovers power in narrating, and thereby in exerting some artistic control over the events. (Zeitz 511)

The power is put back into the male’s hands by giving him the opportunity to “rage” against his penis and to justify his impotence in the poem (*The Imperfect* 30).

Behn gives the power to the women in her poems. She makes her narrators female, allowing them to maintain the secret of their sexual desires as they please. As Jacqueline Pearson says, “Aphra Behn’s fiction, then, creates highly individualized, often female, narrators, and uses them to foreground issues of gender and power [...]” (184). In giving her females the power to narrate the poem, Behn is giving females the power to narrate the events of the poem, including sexual acts. Rochester, on the other hand, gives this narrating power to the males in his poems that then describe the women as “cunts” and “common fucking posts” (*A Ramble* 78 & 63).

Though both Behn and Rochester wrote poems of a sexual, desirous nature, the public received them differently because of their gender giving them unequal power as poets of the time. Behn makes her narrators female because it is the only way she can gain power for females. Her own voice, as a woman poet, does not count for much in her society. As Jacqueline Pearson puts it, “the female writer and narrators themselves, [are] powerful within the confines of fiction, and powerless outside” (184). Behn did not have much say as a woman, so she gave all of her female characters as much power as she could by making them the narrators of her poems.

Rochester had much more power as a poet simply because he was a man. Though his poems were of a vulgar nature, it was justified by his Libertine lifestyle. He was a smoker, a drinker, a ladies' man, etc. As a man he had the power as a poet. On the contrary, Bishop Burnet commented on Behn's poetry in saying, "she is so abominably vile a woman, and rallies not only all Religion but all Virtue in so odious and obscene a manner, that I am heartily sorry that she has writ any thing [...]" (*Rudrum* 1098). The mere fact that Behn was female left her with little power. She wrote of the same sexual themes as Rochester, however both were received very differently as male and female poets.

Sexual desires are inherently powerful. As Jonathan Kramnick points out, "Sex is sociality gone awry, as a cross-section of the social order blends at its most sensitive points of contact" (6). This is evident in seventeenth-century British poetry. John Donne and Aphra Behn point out the differences in opinion of male homosexual desires versus female homosexual desires. They portray what these differences in desires mean in terms of male versus female power.

Aphra Behn and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, also have differing views of sexual desire. While Behn attests to the women holding the power in her poetry, Rochester leaves all power in the males' hands. Rochester uses explicit language, Behn's word use is more toned down. Both did concur that love and sex did not work and ended up in impotence. However, both Behn and Rochester interpreted this impotence into differing views of power. Though both are published poets of the time, Behn was regarded as inferior to Rochester simply because she was a woman. Kramnick further says, "As we have seen, the category of action is no less implicated in the thick of seventeenth-century discourse than passion. The term describes the churning procession of the will from thought to formulated behavior in the world" (5). As thoughts, these sexual desires, or passions, of men and women became different behaviors, and thus turned into different perceptions of power held by each.

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“Read Between the Lines, Bitch” The Feminist Message of *Chasing Amy*”

BY KATHLEEN MISH

Kevin Smith's film *Chasing Amy* centers around Holden and Banky, two best friends who create comic books for a living. Their heterosexist world is changed forever by the introduction of Alyssa, a female comic book artist. She seems to be the ideal woman for Holden, but his hopes for romance are shattered when he learns she is a lesbian. She does eventually commit to a romantic relationship with Holden, but he cannot accept her sexually promiscuous past. Fellow comic book creator, Hooper, a black gay male, and the shady Jay and Silent Bob, on which Holden and Banky's comics are based, provide advice along the way about constructions of female sexuality, a topic with which Holden struggles.

Chasing Amy promotes a clear feminist message: a woman should have the freedom to define and control her sexuality, despite societal norms or demands which serve to constrain her. Throughout the film, Holden, Banky, and Alyssa's lesbian friends attempt to control Alyssa's sexuality. Even Alyssa herself tries to conform her own sexuality to the standards of society, for she is not open with Holden about her past sexual encounters. Eventually, Holden's inability to reject the common view of a normal couple leads to the end of his love affair with Alyssa. Only over time, and with the help of Jay's surprisingly insightful comments and Silent Bob's poignant story of lost love, can Holden accept Alyssa as an individual who is not defined by her sexual activity.

Holden's first attempts at defining Alyssa's sexuality occur early in their relationship. While just getting to know one another, they have a conversation on the swings which is very telling of Holden's opinions about sex. Most importantly, his thoughts on virginity differ greatly from Alyssa's definition of the act. His views on virginity coincide with the rigid views held in the past, in which the rupture of the hymen was considered a physical sign of the loss of virginal status, as described in Brumberg's "Disappearance of Virginity." Brumberg claims that a male definition of virginity led to a loss of individuality for young girls, as their bodies as well as their hymens were "in effect 'jointly owned' by her family and her bridegroom as much as by the girl herself" (145). Alyssa refuses to have her body defined through physical rather than her own personal means, and refutes Holden's statement by mentioning the rupture

of her hymen at a young age due to an accident with a fencepost. He must quickly attempt to redefine his thoughts: "Virginity is lost through penetration." By penetration, Holden means vaginal penetration by the penis, or "serious deep dicking." When Alyssa suggests that she has been penetrated by women through fisting, Holden can barely understand the concept and is rendered speechless. Holden is somewhat progressive, in accordance with the modern society of the 1990s, as he has come to believe that "virginity was simply a social category and not a moral state" (156). However, he cannot extricate himself from the rigid and standard definitions of virginity. By attempting to define Alyssa's sexuality to fit into his own preconceived standards, Holden is trying to exercise control over her sexuality. Alyssa obviously has her own views as to when she lost her virginity, which cannot be changed by Holden's arguments.

In his own unique way, Banky tries to place Alyssa and her sexuality into strictly defined categories. These sexual categories are extraordinarily rigid so that he may understand her sexuality easily, and does not have to face the possibility that human sexuality, including his own, can cross lines that have been constructed by society. At first, Banky cannot even understand the concept of lesbianism and is fascinated when Alyssa makes out with another woman at a bar. As Holden is forced to explain, "It's new to him." Banky soon overcomes his staring and the two begin to trade stories about sexual encounters involving women. Although Banky can accept Alyssa as a lesbian, he can not see her as an individual with a distinct sexuality. According to him, she must fit into the only category of lesbians that exists: as a lesbian, she must be a "man hating dyke." Once her promiscuous sexual past with men has been revealed to him, Banky feels compelled to define her as a whore. He almost never refers to her by her true name, but by the high school nickname given to her: "Finger Cuffs." This moniker is truly demeaning, and Banky's decision to constantly refer to Alyssa by this name, even to her face, shows that he cannot think of her as an individual, but only as a participant in a group sex act. By defining her in this way, he attempts to exercise control over her and force her away from Holden.

Alyssa's lesbian friends, though at first appearing to be on the outskirts of society themselves, also have their own defined set of sexual standards. In fact, their entire homosexual culture has become somewhat mainstream. As Hooper comments on these so-called "lipstick lesbians": "It's so acceptable nowadays, people think it's cute." These women have their own view of what constitutes a lesbian. When she is involved romantically with women, Alyssa is accepted and supported by other friends. When she reveals that she has fallen in love with a man, the shocked looks and silence reveal even more about what they think of her than the biting comment, "Another one bites the dust." Like Holden, these women cannot accept Alyssa as an individual with the capacity to make decisions about her own sexuality. Though they had claimed to support Alyssa and her work in the comic book business before they knew about her relationship with Holden, they abandon her afterwards, despite the fact that she as a person or her work has not changed at all. Their failed attempt to control her sexuality according to their social norms results in her rejection from the group.

Many of Alyssa's experiences correlate directly with the experiences of the girls interviewed in Deborah Tolmann's "Doing Desire: Adolescent Girls' Struggles for/with Sexuality." In Alyssa's struggle with her own sexuality during high school, she rejected the "cultural standards that stand between women and their empowerment" (375). She performed various deviant sex acts throughout her youth as a means of seeking pleasure: "The minority of girls who spoke of sexual pleasure voiced more sexual agency than girls whose experiences were devoid of pleasure" (376). As Alyssa explains to Holden, her exploits were performed on her own terms: "I used them." Despite her view on her participation or even coordination of her past sexual acts, members of society, including Holden, cannot accept what she has done to be natural. One of the young girls interviewed states that "girls who lose control over their desire can be called 'sluts' and ostracized" (379). Holden's inability to accept the capacity of Alyssa's desire is destructive to their relationship, for he feels that he has lost control over her sexuality. She is no longer his conquest, and he no longer feels like "Marco Fucking Polo when it comes to sex," as Hooper so aptly describes heterosexual males.

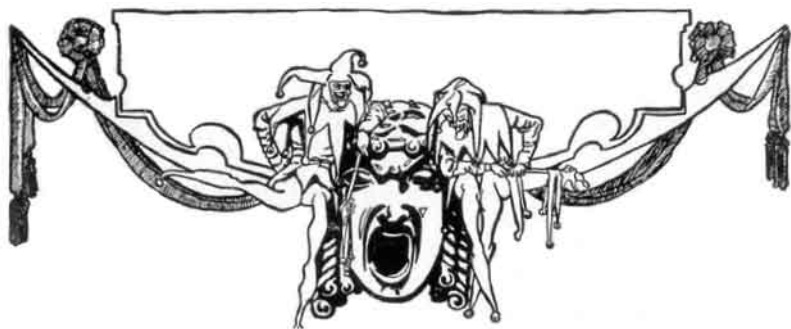
Despite the rejection of cultural norms imposed upon her in high school, Alyssa does nothing more than find another set of sexual standards to adhere to when she becomes a part of the lesbian culture. She has lost her sense of individuality, and even begins to define herself through her sexuality: "I am fucking gay, that's who I am." Holden's confession of his love for Alyssa is met by a fit of rage. She claims that she is angry with him for asking her to do something she can't, while she is really angry at herself for not allowing herself to give into her desire for a male. In response to his arguments, she responds, "Oh, it's that simple?" Falling in love with Holden should be that simple, for the chemistry between them is quite obvious. Yet a complete redefinition of Alyssa's sexuality does not come easy to her. She becomes a victim of her own attempts to define and control her sexuality. Yet later she comes through a transformation, in which she realizes that her sexuality cannot be controlled. She embraces her love for Holden, and is proud of her autonomy. "I came to this on my own terms. I didn't heed what I was taught." In her self acceptance of her own sexuality, Alyssa is able to be with Holden, "that one person to complement me so completely."

Conflict arises when Holden is unable to accept Alyssa and the sexual experiences she has had. Jay and Silent Bob serve to give him the best advice about the situation. Holden cannot come to terms with Alyssa's true feelings for him, which Jay so eloquently is able to convey: "Bitch tasted life, yo, now she's settlin' for your boring, funny-book-makin' ass." Holden tries to deal with his feelings of inadequacy by yet again attempting to control Alyssa's sexuality. By proposing a threesome with Banky, he is yet again placing her into a sexual category which he can understand: he believes her to basically be a slut, and wants her to act like one. Alyssa, in her state of sexual enlightenment, of course does not agree to the proposal. She will not allow her sexuality to be manipulated by Holden, who does not understand the person she has become, and finally leaves him.

In *Chasing Amy*, Hooper demands, “Read between the lines, bitch” which is actually sound advice for the audience as well as Holden. The movie is not merely another Kevin Smith flick about sex. The film actually carries a serious feminist message. Holden and Alyssa can only find peace, though not together, when they have each come to the realization that a woman’s sexuality cannot be defined or controlled by others or by society at large.

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Urinating on a Rock – Hayduke’s Masculinity in *The Monkey Wrench Gang*

BY DUSTIN MCCRAE

The Monkey Wrench Gang is a complex and fascinating novel that explores the depths of the radical environmentalist movement and questions the worth and authenticity of our freedom in the United States, specifically the conditions under which these freedoms are not actually freedoms. Two main concepts underlie Abbey’s idea of absolute freedom. One of these is Hayduke’s “rugged” individualism which includes being utterly self-sufficient, living off of the land (in a non-agricultural sense), and an absolute love of solitude and distance. The other central concept is an environmental conservative lament, a need to keep nature the way it is, and in some cases, violently revert to a state where man is freer to explore nature’s power. The four members of the Gang each supply these ideals in some unique way. Sometimes, Hayduke’s character adds an interesting twist by expanding on Abbey’s reasoning behind the sabotage the book describes and potentially advocates. I have chosen to examine this member of the Gang, George Hayduke, and what he contributed to Abbey’s overarching concept of absolute freedom in the American West.

When reading *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, it is necessary to critically examine the most obvious embodiment of Abbey’s arguably unsustainable and contradictory values; the bearded, cynical, and sociopathic Vietnam veteran George Washington Hayduke. Hayduke is the only one of the characters who embodies both parts of Abbey’s value system: he is both a rugged individualist who can sustain himself in the wild, and he has a great appreciation for the beauty of nature, in his own way. His rugged individualism is displayed best, in my opinion, by one action that everyone performs everyday, but that Hayduke performs so passionately; it becomes representative of his personality at large. Hayduke breathes an obsessive life into this action; he seems to value his ability to perform it above all else Abbey mentions in the novel, and it links him to the land, both physically and metaphorically. This act is that of urination. Whenever he is able, from the beginning of the novel to the end, Hayduke urinates outdoors. Abbey describes colorfully the feelings urinating outdoors summon in Hayduke, and describes in great vividness the details of the act, such as in the following examples:

The bladder aches. The highway is silent and deserted. Maybe the world has already ended. Time to tap a kidney, release that beverage. Hayduke unzips and sends a four-hundred foot arc of filtered Schlitz pouring down through space to the master stream below. ... Hayduke's cock, limp, forgotten, dangles from his open fly, leaking a little. He spreads his legs solidly on the rock and lifts his arms wide to the sky, palms up. A great and solemn joy flow through bone, blood, nerve and tissue, through every cell of his body. (Abbey, 29)

In the very beginning of the novel, and in the chapter introducing Hayduke, Abbey feels the need to describe in detail the natural ecstasy that follows Hayduke's outdoor urination. It is clear that this act is one of communion with the environment, a sacred link of bonding between Hayduke's own body and the world surrounding it. He even refers to the "master stream" in reference to the arc resulting from his own urine, as though his urination is a symbolic microcosm of the natural world which he endeavors to save. The reference "the world has already ended" is interesting, because Hayduke returns to the notion of a post-apocalyptic life in a fantasy that I will cite later. I shall cite the following example of Hayduke's fixation on urination from the final pages of the novel.

Hayduke lingers behind, pausing to tap a kidney. Absorbed, self-satisfied, he contemplates with pleasure the steady drumming on the stone. Purified Schlitz, shining by the moon. Thank God I am a man. Flat rock. Splashing his boots. He is shaking it, trying to free that last drop which will inevitably drip down his leg anyhow, about to tuck it away and rezip..." (Abbey, 348).

Again, the visceral and bodily draw Hayduke closer to the land. There is also an interesting mention of his male identity. It is clear that Hayduke enjoys very much being male, and enjoys the independence and power that being in a wide-open space affords him. His jeep (and eventually, horse), his beer-drinking rituals, his love of living solely off of himself and the land, and his subscription to no one's ideals but his own are all part of this love of independence and power. The urination ties into this theme of being ruggedly and unabashedly male, a self-sufficient conqueror of all. His rite of outdoor urination, and the symbolism behind it, would not be possible if he were not male. It does not matter where he urinates, it does not matter that it splashes on his boots; he is free to enjoy the feeling of the urine striking and trickling down the flat rocks. He is free to do as he pleases.

I will now examine Hayduke's lamentations of a bygone past. Hayduke's idea of how the world should be is so far removed from the way it is that its conditions have never been present during his life. Many people who wish for times past do this based upon some sort of childhood memory or a remembrance of a former time of their own lives, but Hayduke bases his lament upon a prehistoric past, or, as in this case, a post-apocalyptic future. The following dramatic example details Hayduke's vulgar, post-apocalyptic fantasy of the world:

When the cities are gone, he thought, and all the ruckus has died away, when sunflowers push up through the concrete and asphalt of the forgotten interstate freeways, when the Kremlin and the Pentagon are turned into nursing homes for generals, presidents and such shitheads, when the glass-aluminum skyscraper tombs of Phoenix Arizona barely show above the sand dunes, why then, why then, why then maybe by God maybe free men and wild women on horses, free women and wild men, can roam the sagebush canyonlands in freedom – goddammit! – herding the feral cattle into box canyons, and gorge on bloody meat and bleeding fucking internal organs, and dance all night to the music of fiddles! banjos! steel guitars! by the light of a reborn moon! – by God, yes! Until, he reflected soberly, and bitterly, and sadly, until the next age of ice and iron comes down, and the engineers and farmers and the general motherfuckers come back again. (Abbey, 107).

This kind of thinking, so well described and vividly detailed that it must come from some part of Abbey's longing, is common throughout Hayduke's thoughts. It is a complete rejection of society, and a rejection of everything that human beings have become as civilized beings. Civilized beings urinate in a sterile restroom laden with chemicals, porcelain, plastic, and metal. There is nothing natural or instinctual about the urination habits of what we consider civilized beings; restrooms are hidden from view and meant to look and feel sterile to all of the senses. Hayduke's view, however, is that urination should be a freeing sensation in nature that can be experienced as a simultaneously experiential and symbolic expression of masculinity, freedom, and passion for the land. Civilization hides urination in a sterile restroom, while Hayduke frees it and makes it his own rite of manhood.

This kind of ideology can lead to more than a desire to save the environment by blasting away dams and bridges. This ideology has more far-reaching implications, and partially explains Hayduke's lust for destruction, his womanizing tendencies, and his general sociopathic demeanor. Hayduke is a living caveman in the most philosophical sense of the word, his beard and stocky build are meant to emphasize his more primal aspects. In many ways, Hayduke's lamentations of the pre-civilized world are simply an expression of his desire to live unchained by social conventions and by other human beings.

This aspect of George's character again arises during a marijuana binge with Bonnie. Hayduke's odd suggestion is accompanied by some rather interesting philosophical implications, "We could go to Oregon. I heard there's human beings there. We could go to New Zealand, raise lambs." (Abbey, 248). Hayduke's statement that there might be human beings in Oregon or New Zealand says a great deal about what he considers human. Humanity is not human nature, technology, or civilization for Hayduke, it is instead what Westerners think of as the more bodily, instinctual, and visceral. Humanity is raising lambs, humanity is urinating on a rock, humanity is living without the comforts of civilization and the pretense of society. For Hayduke, these things represent true freedom and true humanity.

Hayduke seems to be more honest with Bonnie when he is high. Much like his previous post-apocalyptic fantasies and his infatuation with the act of urinating, his offer to live with Bonnie in New Zealand highlights his rejection of civilization and his wish to live in the wild, to live as what he considers a “human being.” In many ways his destructive tendencies are a result of this; he wants to destroy bridges with some perverse and unattainable goal of annihilating civilization’s scar on the desert. However, Bonnie’s reasoning, being more philosophical and intellectual, refuses his offer immediately to move to Oregon or New Zealand, because the destruction or refusal of society is not what she desires.

Bonnie’s statements on page 184 also highlight how the rest of the world views Hayduke’s ideology, if it can be called an ideology. Bonnie represents a more contemporary and “civilized” perspective, and criticizes the instinctual perspective that Hayduke takes. Her words point to a disdain of Hayduke’s masculinity, probably because of his inherent sexism and thirst for the destruction of social pretense.

I’m surrounded by idiots. All three of them would-be cowboys. Nineteenth-century pigs. Eighteenth-century anachronisms. Seventeenth-century misfits. Absolutely unhip. Out of it, nowhere, just simply nowhere. You’re obsolete, Hayduke. (Abbey, 184)

Her remarks seem not to affect him much, perhaps because he is acting out of instinct rather than out of a provable philosophy. Hayduke sees social and technological progress only as an impediment to the way men were supposed to live. Bonnie, on the other hand, defined by her feminism and new-age hipster ethos, is inclined to see Hayduke’s philosophy or way of life as a simple, sexist, and “obsolete” way of living. Despite their mutual involvement in the sabotage of the industrial machine, they have very different reasons for doing so. While Bonnie’s desires are more complex, and might have something to do with being a part of a group, being with Doc Sarvis, and with her liberal environmentalist tendencies, Hayduke participates in the sabotage because he wants to return to the pre-civilized world described in the quotation from page 107. Hayduke’s response to her criticisms returns to his ideals about the absolute freedom that exists in his bygone age, and returns to his most treasured subject of urination.

“Like a cabin in the woods where a man can piss off the front porch – wait a minute – where a man can piss off the front porch anytime he by God fucking well feels like it!” ... “History has passed you by, Hayduke.” (Abbey, 184)

Once again Hayduke uses vulgarity, urination, and an idea of absolute freedom to convey his feelings on the subject. It is obvious that for Hayduke, Bonnie’s argument of his obsolescence is useless: for him, his way of life is not a choice, but rather a matter of doing what is instinctually correct for him. He urinates not because of some philosophical musing of how the world would be better if there was no agriculture,

he urinates because he feels the sensation of needing to urinate and wants to do so as he pleases, as is natural. It is not so much that Hayduke refutes or denies the pretense of society in his daily life, but rather that he fails to recognize it at all. What Bonnie sees as intellectually essential to her character, Hayduke does not even bother to refute; her ethos is not in his realm. He sees the world so radically differently, so simply, and so naturally that to him, nothing is more pleasurable than exercising the freedom that everyone else seems to lack: urinating “anytime he by God fucking well feels like it!” For Hayduke, the only ones who need society are the socialized themselves.

Hayduke’s motivations for joining the group are clear: Hayduke wants to do everything he can to contribute to the actualization of his fantasy of destruction. Destruction of society, the state, civilization, and all the human conventions and pretense that has been established since Abel began picking tomatoes. He would concur with Seldom Seen Smith when he states, “Then they invented agriculture and the human race took one big step backwards” (Abbey, 362). Hayduke’s philosophy is based upon something more experiential than intellectual debates about the merits and drawbacks of human civilization, it is based upon the act of urinating upon a rock, a simple, pleasurable act that has all but disappeared from a nation that claims its inhabitants are “free.” Indeed, freedom in its deepest form is at the core of Hayduke, and Bonnie’s ideas about equality and society are seen by Hayduke only as one of many impediments to that freedom. However, the larger obstacle to Hayduke’s idea of freedom is what the Gang is present to destroy, namely industrialized society. What Hayduke wants is exactly what industrialized civilization refuses to give him: freedom. In its purest form: urination on a rock.



Contributors

Gelsey Bell is a Presidential Scholar in her fifth year here at Lehigh. She graduated last spring with a BA in Theater and Music and a minor in Philosophy. She is heading into an MA program in Performance Studies at NYU in June. She has been scrawling on walls since the age of 3. Her family has yet to persecute her.

Lee Blaney is the son of a Mongolian farmer and a Chilean undertaker. Upon graduation from his undergraduate program in the field of Underwater Entomology and Systematic Phytoremedial Processes, Lee plans on becoming a mime. Because simple mime-hood adds little to the greater society, Lee plans on furthering the messages of the Raelian religion through his talents. Silently reaching the masses through his mimicry, Lee hopes to play a vital role in ending the worship of false idols on this planet and increasing awareness of our alien creators. His motto is, "Look! A floater!"

Alexander Cauterucci is an audacious freshman from Blue Bell, Pennsylvania, whose vision is not limited to any particular major or minor. His contribution was inspired by Alexander de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, and he is better than you.

Carol Crewdson is a senior civil engineering student returning to Lehigh on the Presidential Scholarship to study what she cares to study and NOT work towards an MS, thank you very much. When she is not dancing in public or fighting for human rights, she enjoys rainbows and boring people with useless facts. She plans to work in an NGO after graduation building water treatment facilities in developing countries.

Wendy Deacon is a senior English major with minors in Writing and History. After graduation, she will (hopefully) remain at Lehigh to earn a Master's degree in English. One day she plans on becoming an author or a professional wrestling manager; after all, that's really why she's here.

David Eck, a Pennsylvanian by birth, is cosmopolitan in spirit. Feet are his choice means of transportation, whether it be walking or running. While walking, he often looks along the sidewalk for pieces of garbage, clothes or anything else that is beautiful. David has taken to heart James Baldwin's belief that we must say yes to life and embrace it wherever it is found and that we must embrace the stink of love. Some might say David has taken Baldwin too literally, but he would say otherwise.

I, **Christina Finetti**, am from Nutley, New Jersey. I'm a senior English and Political Science major and come May, I will have completed my undergraduate studies in three years. I will attend law school next year. At Lehigh, I was the editor of *Amaranth*, Lehigh's literary magazine, and the assistant editor of *The Vast Right Wing Conspiracy*, a campus conservative newsletter.

Alex Grosskurth, raised in Ambler, PA, one of the most polluted towns in the U.S. (asbestos), learned early on to think critically about his surroundings. He believes it is immensely important to regularly question your beliefs and use philosophical inquiry for a greater understanding of yourself and the world around you. But, Alex is a doer as well as a dreamer. In recent years he has become an environmental activist and vegetarian, and is primarily interested in renewable energy such as wind power. Alex has many diverse passions, and brings his people-centered analysis into everything he does.

Ashley Leraan Johnson is a Presidential Scholar graduating in May 2005 with a Masters in Political Science. She graduated '04 with high honors at Lehigh University, where she pursued a double major in Political Science and Interdisciplinary Art, Journalism and Communications. Other written works include her extensive honors thesis, *Art and Propaganda: Shaping Existence*. Ashley studied abroad in Florence, Italy and volunteered in Meru, Kenya. She enjoys art, concerts, skiing, playing the viola, and taking road trips.

Martha MacKenzie is a writer and a runner. Her goals are to become an English teacher and to complete a marathon. She is traveling to study in Ireland this summer and will graduate a semester early in December. Someday she will be a famous author and this may just be the first step.

Dustin McCrae is a sophomore College Scholar majoring in Religion Studies and International Relations. He passes his time listening to jazz and eating cheddar. His heroes include Captain Kirk, Gordon Freeman, and Jagdish Bhagwati. He has spent time as an archeologist's assistant in Belarus, as a Zen monk in Taiwan, and as an editor for the *Lehigh Review*. He thanks his supportive family, wonderful girlfriend, and devoted friends who exhibit Herculean patience when he won't shut up about this or that religious nonsense. Dustin hopes one day to obtain a sweet gig as a university professor so everyone will have to listen to his good ideas.

Kathleen Mish is a junior English and Religion Studies major with a minor in Women's Studies. She plans on working towards her MA in English here at Lehigh. Kathleen likes to be called by her last name and all its variations: Mish, Mishy, Mish Muffin, and Mish Poodle. She is a vegetarian, a feminist and a do-gooder. If you hear muffled noises coming from her bedroom, it's only because she's being attacked by the teddy bears that are taking up every possible inch of space.

Lehigh University presented **H. Lavar Pope** with a unique set of opportunities, a trio of "hats," and the chance to build a few different talents. As an undergraduate, Lavar graduated with honors in both English and Political Science and was awarded a Presidential Scholarship for a year of study in the MA program in Political Science at Lehigh. As an athlete, Lavar has competed in regional-caliber meets and was fortunate enough to win a Patriot League Championship in 2005. As a DJ/Producer, Lavar has performed at local venues in the area, appeared on WLVR (Lehigh's radio station), and runs a website dedicated to the preservation of hip-hop music. This trio of activities has provided the Illinois native with balance and opportunity to combine talents. After graduating from Lehigh University from Lehigh's Masters Program in Political Science, Lavar will be attending Rutgers University or the University of California at Santa Cruz as a PhD student in the field of Politics.

Faiza Rashid graduated with highest honors from Lehigh University in June 2004 with a Bachelor of Science degree in Chemical Engineering. Currently she is a Presidential Scholar, also at Lehigh University, obtaining her Bachelors of Art in International Relations. While at Lehigh, she served as a Head Gryphon (Head Residential Advisor) for two years and a Gryphon (Residential Advisor) for one year. Additionally, she has been Co-Chair of the Reality and Diversity Committee, Multicultural Intern at the Admissions Office, International Students Ambassador, Research Assistant at the Energy Resource Center, part of the Conference Services Reservation team, peer tutor for physics, grader for Computer Programming, and Residence House Council Advisor. She has also done research on Multi-Culture Fed Batch Fermentation reactions as a Coop at Roche Vitamins, Belvidere, NJ.

Faiza is also a Student Associate for the Martindale Center and has been published in *Perspectives on Business and Economics*. After graduation, Faiza will work as a Junior Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC.

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Katie Schiewetz hails from Federal Way, Washington, about twenty minutes south of Seattle. She is double majoring in English and Art with a concentration in Art History. She is currently the Bylaws Committee Chair for Student Senate, the Vice President of Judicial Affairs for the Panhellenic Council, an Admissions Fellow for the University, and a tutor in the English Language Learning Center. She also takes classes and is writing her thesis, too. Katie will be returning to Lehigh next year on a Presidential Scholarship. Maybe she could use the time to find another Greek letter organization to join, since she's already a member of KA, H, and BK. She's pretty sure she's either headed to work in a museum or at a publishing company, but with the way she keeps busy, who knows where she'll end up.

Jessi Schimmel is a senior Journalism and History major. She wrote this paper while studying abroad in Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. She owes many thanks to her advisers, both at Lehigh and abroad, and to all those she has ever subjected to her "rantings" about Australian genocide. She will be returning to Lehigh next year as a Presidential Scholar and employee of the Alumni Association.

I, **Vincent Tas**, was born in Leuven, Belgium on 17 September 1979, I have studied at the Katholieke Universiteit of Leuven (Belgium) and at the Universidade de Lisboa (Portugal). I am a Master in Modern History and a Master in International Relations. Thanks to an exchange program, I am studying for one year at the Lehigh University.

Joe Ziemann is a senior environmental engineer born in Newtown, Connecticut. He likes to spend his time riding his bike in the woods, staying low key, and trying new beers. His aspirations are to avoid working for the man and to strive to use his skills gained at Lehigh to make the world a cleaner and healthier place for people to enjoy.



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save you any money on car insurance"***

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Lehigh Review and a mallard with a cold?
One's a sick duck... I can't remember how
it ends, but your mother's a whore!"***

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"Whoa"

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